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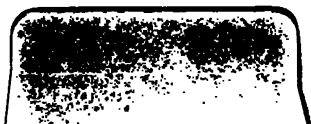
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**HISTORICAL SKETCHES**  
**OF THE**  
**MISSIONS**  
**OF THE**  
**UNITED BRETHREN**  
**FOR**  
**PROPAGATING THE GOSPEL**  
**AMONG**  
**THE HEATHEN,**  
**FROM THEIR COMMENCEMENT TO THE YEAR 1817.**

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**BY THE REV. JOHN HOLMES,**  
**AUTHOR OF HISTORY OF THE PROTESTANT CHURCH OF THE UNITED BRETHREN.**

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**SECOND IMPROVED EDITION.**

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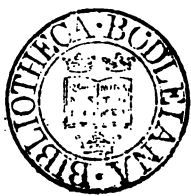
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**1827.**

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## PREFACE

TO THE FIRST EDITION.

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THE Narrative of the Missions of the United Brethren, contained in the following sheets, was undertaken in consequence of many and repeated inquiries for such a work; and in consideration, that the cordial and active interest in the missionary labours of the Brethren, excited, of late years, among many sincere friends, who are not members of their Church, seemed to require the publication of a work, which should supply a concise history of *all* the attempts, made by them, at different times, and in various countries, for the propagation of Christianity among the Heathen.

Influenced by these considerations, and encouraged by many of his friends, the Author entered upon the compilation of this work; and, after previous correspondence with several of his Brethren in the ministry, and having obtained their approbation, and the assurance of their assistance and prayers for its success, prepared it for publication. Whatever shall be its ultimate reception from the public, he feels the sincerest pleasure in ascribing much of the success, which has attended his labours in compiling it, under God, to the countenance and faithful prayers of his brethren and friends.

Aware of many imperfections in his performance, the Author must entreat indulgence, particularly with regard to the style, which, in many places, especially where his information has been derived from German works, may appear harsh, and defective in ease and harmony, to an English reader. For one thing, however, he can vouch,—and on this he would

## PREFACE

TO THE SECOND EDITION.

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IN preparing a second Edition of this work for the press, the Author has endeavoured to improve the style, but he did not feel himself at liberty to make any alterations in the narrative, with the exception of introducing, in a Note, a few biographical notices of the late venerable Missionary, David Zeisberger, and of enlarging the account of the unsuccessful attempt, made by the Brethren, to establish a mission in Ceylon. The addition of an index, he doubts not, will by most readers be deemed an improvement.

The idea, at first entertained, of continuing the history to the present time, has been relinquished, chiefly, because the volume would thereby be swelled to an inconvenient size, and the purchasers of the first Edition would have an incomplete work.

If God shall bless the Author with a continuance of life and health, and his official avocations shall allow him sufficient leisure for the undertaking, he hopes some time hence to present his readers with a continuation of the history of the missionary labours of the Brethren, which, by the Divine blessing, are yearly increasing in importance, extent, and interest.

FULNEK, NEAR LEEDS,  
*August 19th, 1826.*

## LIST OF WORKS,

*Used in the Compilation of the following Sketches.*

1. History of Greenland, by David Crantz. Translated from the German.
2. History of the Missions among the Indians in North America, by G. H. Loaskiel. Translated from the German by J. C. Latrobe.  
History of the Brethren, by David Crantz. Translated from the German by Benjamin Latrobe.
4. Continuation of this work, in 3 volumes, in German. Not yet translated into English.
5. Select Narratives, extracted from the History of the Unitas Fratrum, in two parts, by Jeremiah Risler. Only the first part has been translated into English.
6. Periodical Accounts, relating to the Missions of the United Brethren, in 6 volumes.
7. Brief Account of the Mission among the Esquimaux Indians.
8. Journal of a Voyage of Discovery from Okkak in Labrador, to Ungava Bay.
9. Account of the Manner in which the Unitas Fratrum preach the Gospel, and carry on their Missions. Translated from the German.



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## INTRODUCTION.

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THE declaration of our blessed Saviour, *the kingdom of God cometh not with observation*; may with great propriety be applied to the Missions of the United Brethren. Their attempts to impart to the Heathen the knowledge of God and of salvation, commenced in a manner so obscure and unostentatious, as generally to elude the notice of all, but their own immediate connexions and particular friends; and they had exerted themselves, for several years, in this labour of love, before the attention of their fellow-Christians in other denominations was attracted to this great object. But while the world at large, either remained totally ignorant of these exertions, or treated the scheme with silent contempt or open ridicule; the Brethren, unappalled by contempt and calumny and a thousand difficulties, which impeded their progress, pursued with unabating zeal what to them appeared the path of duty. The love of Christ constrained them to obey his command: *Go ye into all the world and preach the gospel to every creature*, and the gracious promises of his holy Word animated them in their arduous work.

The origin of their Missions was attended with circumstances singularly interesting. Count Zinzendorf\*, being gone

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\* This pious young nobleman was the instrument employed by God, for preserving the small remnant of the ancient Church of the Brethren, and renewing its constitution and discipline at the beginning of the eighteenth century. In consequence of dreadful persecutions, stirred up against them by the papists, the Brethren's congregations in Moravia, [upwards of 200 in number,] were totally destroyed, their Ministers, together with many noblemen and private individuals of their Church, put to death, or exiled, and their bibles and other religious books burnt. Those few, who survived the persecution and faithfully adhered to their principles, were forced to conceal themselves in cellars and

to Copenhagen in the year 1731 to be present at the coronation of Christian VI. King of Denmark, some of his domestics became acquainted with a Negro, called Anthony. This man told them much of the miseries endured by the Negro-slaves in the island of St. Thomas, and of the ardent desire of many, especially of his sister, to be instructed in the way of salvation. This relation deeply affected the count, and served to revive the hope, expressed by him some years before at a public meeting in Herrnhut, that the Brethren would one day have it in their power to proclaim the gospel to the Laplanders, Negros, and Greenlanders. On his return, therefore, he took an early opportunity of mentioning this occurrence to the congregation.

Anthony, having soon after obtained leave from his master to visit Herrnhut, repeated his former relation to many of the inhabitants; but added, that the labours of the Negros were so incessant, that they could find no leisure for religious instruction, unless their teacher himself became a slave, for the purpose of instructing them during their daily employment.

This representation roused the zeal of the Brethren for the conversion of the Heathen, and they determined, that no obstacle, however apparently insurmountable, should deter them from making the attempt. Two young men, in particular, Leonard Dober, and Tobias Leupold, were so deeply impressed with the magnitude of the object, that they publicly avowed their resolution to go to St. Thomas, and even TO SELL THEMSELVES AS SLAVES, in order that they might have an opportunity of preaching the gospel to the Negros, should they find no other way of accomplishing their purpose. Tobias Leupold repeated his request for permission to go to St. Thomas, in writing, and

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other obscure places, in the caves of rocks and the almost impervious thickets of the forests, where they held their religious meetings in private, and chiefly in the night, for fear of their enemies. Being informed that there was greater liberty of conscience in Saxony and Silesia, many sought an asylum in those countries. Some of these emigrants arrived in 1722 at Bertholdsdorf, in Upper Lusatia, an estate belonging to count Zinzendorf, who, when he had learned the cause of their emigration, received them in the kindest manner, and encouraged and assisted them in forming a colony on a neighbouring hill, called *Hutberg*. This colony afterwards received the name of HERRNHUT, and became the first congregation of the renewed Church of the Brethren.—See *Holmes' History of the Brethren's Church*, Vol. 1. p. 165. &c.

while his letter was read to the congregation, the brethren, Matthew Stach and Frederic Boenish formed the resolution of offering themselves to go to Greenland.\*

A sacred impulse to missionary labours was thus imparted to the congregation at Herrnhut by the great Head of his universal Church, who, in the unerring counsels of his wisdom and love, designed the Brethren to become the honoured instruments of publishing the saving name of Jesus to many savage tribes, and of sowing the gospel-seed on soils the most barren and unpromising. The impulse, thus granted, operated most powerfully, for though the colony at Herrnhut, at the time of commencing this great work, consisted of only six hundred persons, and these mostly poor exiles; yet neither their external poverty, nor the smallness of their number, could damp their zeal or relax their ardour. Having given themselves unto the Lord, they were disposed to offer to him also all they possessed, fully persuaded that it is nothing with the Lord, whether to help with many, or with them that have no power, and that with his blessing on their exertions, a little one would become a thousand, and a small one a strong nation.

Supported by this conviction they cheerfully encountered every difficulty, and endured the severest hardships in distant countries and among barbarous tribes, with a spirit of self-denial, patience, and fortitude, which clearly manifested that they were willing even to hazard their lives for the name of the Lord Jesus.

Within the short period of ten years missionaries went to St. Thomas, to St. Croix, to Greenland, to Surinam, to the Rio de Berbice, to several Indian tribes in North America, to the Negroes in South Carolina, to Lapland, to Tartary, to Algiers, to Guinea, to the Cape of Good Hope and to Ceylon: and since that time missionaries have been sent to the islands of St. Jan, Jamaica, Antigua, Barbadoes, St. Kitt's and Tobago in the West Indies; to Paramaribo and other places in South America; to Persia, to Egypt, to Labrador, to Tranquebar, and the Nicobar Islands.

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\* Hist. of B. Church, Vol. I. p. 215, &c.

In several of these places their attempts have proved unsuccessful. In some instances the missionaries, sent out, never reached the place of their destination ; in others the political state of the country, to which they went, rendered their immediate return an imperious duty ; and in one or two cases they were compelled to relinquish their benevolent design, after years of patient perseverance and heroic fortitude, spent in fruitless endeavours to impress the wretched natives with the importance of the gospel.

These partial failures, however, did not paralise their exertions ; for while the want of success, in some cases, had a tendency to humble and preserve them from vain glory in their own strength, the divine blessing, which attended their labours, in other places, quickened their diligence, maintained their confidence in the Lord, and disposed them to ascribe all the glory unto *Him*. And the experience of nearly a hundred years, during which they have been engaged in this noble work, has furnished them with abundant proofs, that the cause is the Lord's, and that he is able to carry it on even by the weakest instruments. To *Him* they desire to express their warmest gratitude for the present flourishing state of most of their Missions, where the Word of God is evidently glorified in *turning the Gentiles from darkness into light, and from the power of Satan unto God.*

# HISTORICAL SKETCHES,

&c. &c.

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## CHAP. I.

### MISSION IN GREENLAND.

GREENLAND is the remotest tract of land in the north, lying between Europe and America, and is divided into east and west Greenland. The eastern coast is wholly inaccessible, but the western coast has been known to Europeans for above two hundred years, though no colonies were formed there till within the last century, when the Danes erected several factories for the purpose of carrying on the whale-fishery.

The western coast, as far as it has been explored and occupied by the Danes, extends from the 59th to the 73rd degree of north latitude. It is very thinly peopled, the number of inhabitants probably not exceeding seven thousand. The whole coast is surrounded with steep and lofty cliffs, the summits of which are covered with perennial snow and ice, intersected by many bays and defended by innumerable larger and smaller islands. In some of the latter and also in the valleys on the main land, there is a little vegetation, consisting of grass, a few hardy flowers, various kinds of berry-bearing shrubs and low brush-wood, but in general the soil is barren and unproductive.

The want of large timber is in some measure compensated by the *Drift-wood*, which floats in great quantities into the bays and islands, and serves the Europeans for fuel, and the natives for building their houses, tents and boats.

The climate in this country is intensely cold, sometimes so severe that beer and even brandy freeze in a room heated by a stove; but the air is generally pure and serene, and bracing to European constitutions. The bays and the water between the islands are seldom frozen for any length of time, and in some winters they remain open the whole season. This is of great advantage to the Greenlanders, as their principal subsistence is derived from fishing. In very severe winters, therefore, they mostly experience a famine. The summer seldom lasts above four months, and even then it frequently snows, and the frost never leaves the ground entirely, as the rays of the sun seldom penetrate above a foot below the surface. Yet the heat in summer is as great as in any part of England or Germany. In summer there is scarce any night, as the sun does not remain above two or three hours below the horizon, and from the tops of the mountains his beams are reflected even at midnight, so that a person seated in a room, may read and write without the aid of a candle. And though the winter nights are proportionally long, yet the darkness is considerably lessened by the stronger light of the moon, the prevalence of the *aurora borealis*, (or northern lights,) and by reflections from the ice and snow.

The natives are of a tawny hue and low stature, with very dark and black eyes, and strong flowing hair. They are clad the whole year round in fur dresses, made of the skins of seals and reindeer, very neatly sewed by the women. Their dwellings are of two kinds; first, tents, which are covered with seal-skins, and constitute their summer habitations; secondly, winter houses constructed of large stones, the walls being a yard in thickness, and the crevices filled up with earth and sods. The roof is made with a few uprights, cross-beams, and laths, every opening being stopped up with heath. Over this are spread sods and earth, and the whole covered with old skins. The inside breadth of such a house is generally twelve feet, but its length varies from twenty four to seventy two feet, according to the number of its inmates. The ceiling is so low that it barely admits of a man standing upright in it. The entrance is by a long, low passage, through which you must rather creep than

walk ; but this is well calculated to keep out the cold. Four, or even ten families live together in a house, each having its own apartments, separated from the rest by a screen made of skins. In every apartment a lamp is kept constantly burning, which lights and heats it, and serves the purpose of cooking their victuals. Great cleanliness must not be looked for in their houses ; and the constant smell of the train-oil is very disagreeable to Europeans. Yet, the contentment of the Greenlanders, amidst this poverty, and the order and stillness observed among them, where so many dwell together, cannot but excite admiration.

They have two sorts of boats ; the one called *woman's* or *skin-boat*, and the other *kajak*. The latter is eighteen feet long, terminating in a point at each end. In the middle it is eighteen inches broad, and but one foot in depth. It is covered on all sides, above and below, with seal-skins, leaving an aperture in the middle, in which the Greenlander seats himself, lacing the skin of the boat so tightly round his waist, that no water can penetrate. Such is their dexterity in managing the kajak, that, if it even upset, they can right it again by a single stroke of the paddle, which they use for rowing. In this manner they scud over the waves, even in tempestuous weather, with astonishing celerity, and not unfrequently make a voyage of twenty leagues in a day. Seated in his kajak, equipped with his bow and arrow, his harpoon and other implements for catching seals, the Greenlander feels not a little proud of his skill, and looks down upon the arts of Europeans with supercilious contempt.

The skin-boat is much larger, being from forty to fifty feet long, and proportionally broad and deep. The skeleton is made of thin laths, tightly fixed together, and covered with soft leather of seal-skins, so that no water can penetrate. It is entirely managed and rowed by women, and capable of containing ten or twelve persons, together with their luggage and provisions. In these boats the natives travel from one place to another, and often perform voyages of several hundred leagues. The skeletons both of the skin boat and the kajak are constructed by the men, but the covering of them is the work of the women.



The women likewise have the management of all domestic concerns, and very early accustom their daughters to industry. The men and boys spend most of their time in acquiring the art of managing the kajak and catchig seals, which exposes them to frequent dangers, and many perils at sea.

Nothing like a regular government, or organized system of laws, exists among the natives; they, however, adhere to certain traditionary usages, and exhibit more of a moral and peaceable character than most other savage nations. Their notions of God and religion are likewise extremely limited, being confined to some general but very indistinct ideas of two great spirits; the one good and benevolent; the other evil and wicked. In their pagan state, the Greenlanders, except the *angekocks*, or sorcerers, evince but little desire to obtain any knowledge of either the good or the evil spirit. The *angekocks* are a set of deceivers, who pretend to have intercourse with the great spirit, by means of a *tormgak*, or inferior spirit; and who by their tricks, play upon the ignorance and superstition of the credulous.

To a foreigner the acquisition of the Greenland language is not an easy task. For though very regular in its construction, it has no affinity to any other known language. It is very copious in words and phrases, relating to things about which they are conversant, but for religious and scientific subjects it affords scarce any terms, which rendered it exceedingly difficult for the missionaries to discourse with the natives on such topics, till after the conversion of some of them, who soon found appropriate phrases by which to express the new ideas, awakened in their minds.

Notwithstanding the rigours of the climate and the sterility of the soil, the missionaries have succeeded in laying out gardens, in which they grow lettuce, cabbages, radishes, turnips, and a few other early vegetables. However, as they cannot be sown before June, and killing frosts commence again in September, they remain small, but have a fine flavour. All their attempts to cultivate oats and barley have hitherto proved ineffectual, for though they spring up very fast, they never come to maturity. The missionaries have also introduced the breeding of sheep

and goats, though the procuring of hay for them for the long winter is attended with much trouble and labour, as it must be sought for in the valleys. In Lichtenau, which till lately was the most southern settlement, they generally keep a flock of ninety or a hundred sheep, as more grass grows there than either in New Herrnhut or Lichtenfels, where they seldom have more than twenty.

The different classes of animated nature furnish both the natives and Europeans with several sorts of wild animals, serviceable either for the table or for traffic; such as reindeer, hares, foxes, white bears, several kinds of winged game, a great variety of fishes, especially herrings, which in the beginning of summer come into the bays in such shoals, that whole boats can be filled with them in a few hours. But of all animals peculiar to this country, none are of greater importance to the Greenlanders than seals, of which there are five kinds. These not only constitute their principal food, but they furnish them also with clothing and bedding, with covering to their boats, tents, and houses, with oil for their lamps, and with various implements for fishing and hunting, and even serve them as a medium of traffic, instead of money.

Europeans, however, must derive their chief support from Denmark, as not only their health, but their very life, is endangered, if necessitated to live upon the food of the natives for any length of time. Our first missionaries experienced all the horrors of being driven to this necessity, of which the reader will find affecting proofs in the subsequent narration. But their successors have for many years been happily relieved from this distress, as an ample supply of provisions can now be regularly sent out to them, by the ships which annually arrive from Copenhagen; and for more than ninety years they have only met with one serious and alarming disappointment in this respect.

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In the year 1732, during a discussion of the Brethren at Herrnhut, respecting the duty of Christians to send missionaries to Heathen nations, two young men, Frederic Boenish and

Matthew Stach, offered themselves to go to Greenland (as has been mentioned in the Introduction). After minute inquiry into their motives and qualifications for such an undertaking, their offer was accepted. But nothing could be done that year with regard to the Greenlanders, as the mission to St. Thomas required all the attention and resources of the congregation. The following year, however, it was resolved no longer to defer the commencement of a mission to Greenland.

In order to effect this benevolent purpose, Matthew Stach, and his cousin Christ. Stach\*, proceeded to Copenhagen early in the spring of 1733, conducted by Christian David†. Nothing can more strikingly exhibit the zeal of these devoted servants of Christ, than the truly apostolic spirit, in which they entered upon their arduous labour in his vineyard. They literally obeyed the injunction of Christ to his disciples, when he sent them out to preach the gospel: *Take nothing for your journey, neither staves nor scrip, neither bread, neither money, neither have two coats apiece.* "There was no need of much time," says one of them, "or expense for our equipment. The congregation consisted chiefly of poor exiles, who had not much to give, and we ourselves had nothing but the clothes on our backs. We had been used to make shift with little, and did not trouble our heads how we should get to Greenland, or how we should live there. The day before our departure a friend in Venice sent a donation, and part of this we received for our journey to Copenhagen. Now we considered ourselves richly provided for, and therefore would take nothing of any one on the road, believing that he, who had procured us something for our journey at the very critical moment, would also

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\* Fr. Boenish, being absent from Herrnhut on a long journey, could not then accompany his friends, but followed them the next spring, and laboured in that mission upwards of twenty-eight years.

† Christian David was a native of Moravia, and the person by whose interposition Count Zinzendorf was induced to receive the Moravian emigrants on his estate. God afterwards employed him as a blessed instrument of leading many of his persecuted countrymen to a saving knowledge of the gospel, and of promoting their emigration to Herrnhut. *Further particulars of him may be read in Hist. of B. Church, Vol. 1. Part 2.*

supply us with every thing requisite for accomplishing our purpose, whenever it should be needful\*."

On their arrival in Copenhagen they were kindly received by many friends, and met with particular cordiality from Professor Ewald, a member of the Danish Mission-College, and the Rev. Mr. Reuss, one of the King's Chaplains. But to many their design appeared romantic and unseasonable; for as the Danish mission in Greenland had been greatly reduced, the government was inclined to withdraw the colony, and relinquish the mission altogether. In this case, though our brethren might proceed to Greenland with the ship, which must be sent out to bring home the colonists, their settling on that inhospitable shore would be rendered extremely unsafe and dangerous, as they would not only be left without a regular supply of provisions from Europe, but be exposed to the cruelty of the savages, who might even murder them.

This unfavourable prospect, however, did not dispirit our missionaries. They committed their cause to *him* who orders all things according to the counsel of his own will, fully persuaded that if their intentions were pleasing in his sight, *he* could be at no loss for ways and means of bringing them to Greenland, and of supporting and protecting them when landed there. In this confident hope they were not disappointed. Affairs soon took a different turn; the king consented that one more ship should go to the colony at Godhaab, where ~~the~~ Danish missionary, Hans Egede, resided,

The way being thus opened, ~~the~~ missionaries waited on count Pless, first lord of the bed-chamber, entreating his interest in their behalf. At first, their proposal did not meet with much approbation. To a person of his rank and education, who was not ignorant of the little success which had attended the labours of the learned, indefatigable, and zealous Mr. Egede, it must have appeared a wild scheme indeed, for young illiterate persons to engage in so difficult, and seemingly hopeless, an undertaking. He therefore raised many objections, and sent them to some divines to be examined; but being once convinced of the

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\* Crantz' Hist. of Greenland, Vol. i. p. 322.

soundness of their faith, and the uprightness of their intentions, he conceived a great regard for them, readily condescended to present their petition to the king, and seconded it to the utmost of his power. Among other arguments, he made use of the following, which deserves to be recorded: "God has in all ages," said he, "employed the meanest, and in the eyes of the world; the most unlikely and even despicable instruments, for accomplishing the grand designs of his kingdom, to shew that the honour belongs to *Him*, and to teach mankind not to rely on their own penetration or power, but on *his* benediction\*."

His exertions had the effect of inducing the king to resolve on promoting with renewed vigour the improvement of the country, and the conversion of its inhabitants, and accordingly he accepted the voluntary overture in the most gracious manner, and desired that other Brethren might soon follow those now about to sail. His majesty even condescended to recommend them to Mr. Egede, in a letter written with his own hand.

While the missionaries were preparing for their voyage, they formed a pleasing acquaintance with many worthy characters and persons of distinction in Copenhagen, who not only commended their zeal; but, without their solicitation, provided them with the needful expenses for their voyage, and various necessary articles for their first settlement in Greenland†.

They sailed from Copenhagen on the 10th of April, and after a safe and speedy voyage reached the place of their destination on the 20th of May. Immediately on their arrival, they repaired to the Rev. Mr. Egede, who received them with much

\* Crantz, Vol. i. p. 325.

† In one of his conversations with them, count Pless asked: "How they intended to maintain themselves in Greenland?" Unacquainted with the situation and climate of the country; the missionaries answered: "By the labour of our hands and God's blessing;" adding, "that they would build a house and cultivate a piece of land, that they might not be burdensome to any." He objected that there was no timber fit for building in that country. "If this is the case," said our brethren, "then we will dig a hole in the earth and lodge there." Astonished at their ardour in the cause in which they had embarked, the count replied: "No; you shall not be driven to that extremity; take timber with you and build a house; accept of these fifty dollars for that purpose." Crantz. I. 326.

cordiality, expressed his joy at their undertaking, and promised them all the assistance in his power, especially in their learning the language.

As soon as their first interview with Mr. Egede was over, they went to the sea coast to search for a habitable spot. Having fixed on a place near *Ball's river*, to which they afterwards gave the name of *NEW HERRNUT*, they kneeled down and invoked the blessing of God on themselves and their undertaking. Their first labour was to erect a small hut, as a shelter against the inclemency of the climate. A few days after they laid the foundation for their proper dwelling, for which they had brought the timber with them from Copenhagen. The season was remarkably in their favour, the ice and snow having melted a month sooner than usual. Besides their own house, they built one after the Greenland manner, for the accommodation of such of the natives as might be induced to come to them for instruction.

This first difficulty surmounted, others of a far heavier kind daily pressed upon them. It became needful to think of some method of maintaining themselves, and this was no easy task in a country like Greenland, and among savages, whose mode of living was filthy and disgusting in the extreme, and with whose language they were unacquainted. Our brethren, however, did not despond: they bought an old boat from the captain, who had brought them over; but the very first time they put to sea in her, to search for drift-wood among the islands, they were overtaken by a storm, reached home with much difficulty, and in the night their boat with her whole cargo of wood, was carried off by the wind. Some Greenlanders indeed brought her back in a few days, but greatly damaged. They obtained little by fishing and hunting, being unaccustomed to these occupations, and unable to manage their kajak. Considering these adverse circumstances, as a warning, not to enter too deeply into the cares and pursuits of this life; they came to a resolution, when other work failed them, to earn something by spinning.

The acquisition of the Greenland language was another difficulty they had to encounter. Mr. Egede afforded them all the assistance in his power, but to men like our missionaries,

whose education had been confined to that of a common school, it proved no easy task. Unacquainted with the very terms of grammar, the application of them to a barbarous language, became doubly difficult, especially as that language contains a variety of declensions and conjugations, diversified by new moods, and perplexed by suffixes, both active and passive. They had besides to commit to memory a large vocabulary of words, as the Greenlanders have often ten different words to express the same thing. And if to this be added, that before they could understand their instructors, they had to learn the Danish language, their patience and perseverance will appear truly great.

As yet they had few opportunities to engage in their proper calling. They wisely resolved not to enter into conversation on religious subjects with the natives for the present, lest their deficiency in the language should lead them to employ phrases which might convey erroneous ideas of divine things. The Greenlanders, indeed, shewed but little disposition to hold much intercourse with them, for though nearly two thousand lived at that time on Ball's river, they spent most of the summer among the islands and hills, for the purpose of catching seals, and hunting reindeer; and during the winter, they were accustomed to go sixty and even two hundred leagues to the north or south to visit their acquaintances. Few of them therefore called upon the missionaries; and if any did come, it was chiefly to see their buildings, or to beg nails, fish-hooks, knives, and other articles, or even to steal them. If the missionaries visited them, they seldom found any one willing to lodge and entertain them, even though offered a recompense for it; and instead of entering into discourse with them, they were continually asking, whether they would not soon go away again.

A trial, severer than any of these, was permitted to exercise their faith and fortitude, at the very beginning of their labours. A few months after their arrival the small-pox broke out among the natives. As this disease was unusual in the country, it was not understood at first, neither could the savages be prevailed upon to apply proper remedies, or use any kind of precaution to prevent the progress of infection. The contagion,

therefore, spread rapidly, and made such ravages as threatened the total depopulation of the country. It continued from September, 1733, to the following June, and spread forty leagues north of the Danish colony, and probably as many south. In the district of Ball's river only eight recovered, and Mr. Egede computed that the number of the natives, carried off by this distemper, amounted, probably, to two or three thousand.

The misery endured by the Greenlanders at this period is inconceivable. Tormented by excruciating pain, a raging fever and burning thirst, their patience entirely forsook them, they would neither take medicine, nor use any regimen. The consequence was, few survived the third day. Some stabbed themselves or plunged into the sea to terminate their sufferings, and others fled to desert islands. In one of these the missionaries found only one little girl, with the small pox upon her, and her three little brothers. The father, having first buried all the people in that place, laid himself and his youngest sick child in a tomb, erected of stones, and ordered his daughter to cover them with skins and stones, that they might not be devoured by foxes and ravens; and then gave her and her brothers two seals and some dried herrings to live upon, till they could get to the Europeans.

During this dreadful period our missionaries faithfully assisted Mr. Egede in visiting and taking care of the sick. The latter lodged all that fled to him, and the former accommodated as many in their house, as they had room for. But they were grieved to perceive that this severe affliction, generally speaking, made no salutary impression upon the natives, and excited no concern in them for the future and everlasting state of their souls. In a few instances, however, their kindness touched the savages, as it exceeded what they could have expected from their own countrymen. One man, in particular, who had always derided them in the days of health, made this confession before his end to Mr. Egede: "You have done for us what our own people would not do, for you have fed us when we had nothing to eat; you have buried our dead, who would else have been devoured by the dogs, foxes and ravens; you have also instructed us in the knowledge of God, and have told us of a



better life." In some children, also, whom he had baptized, he perceived resignation to death and a comfortable hope of a resurrection to life eternal.

No sooner had the missionaries finished their labour of love to the poor, sick, and dying Greenlanders, than they were themselves attacked by a violent eruptive disorder, which so increased in the winter, that they nearly lost the use of their limbs. Providentially, however, they were not both confined at the same time. Mr. Egede behaved towards them like a father and friend, and his excellent wife never omitted sending them some refreshment or cordial, when she had any herself; indeed so great was her kindness, that they were often scrupulous of accepting her presents.

Amidst such accumulated trials did the Brethren's missions commence their career in Greenland; yet, though their ardour might at times be damped, their zeal was not extinguished. This is evident from their own declarations. In letters, addressed to their brethren in Europe, they express themselves to the following effect: "The present circumstances (referring to the contagion) appear mysterious. We know not what to pray for, whether for the life or death of these poor creatures. Perhaps God intends to preserve a holy seed in a few persons as he did at the deluge. May the Lord teach us to believe and venerate the secret purposes of his will. At present we are in the school of faith, and the prospect before us is clouded and almost dark. We perceive no traces of any good work begun among the heathen; no, not so much as a sigh, and the poor creatures find *death* where they should find *life*. As far as respects ourselves appearances are equally discouraging. We have not the strength and vigour of body, requisite for enduring the hardships of this country, and at present we suffer much from sickness; yet we have a persuasion that this may eventually tend to enure our constitutions to the climate, and qualify us for the Lord's service in this country. We are conscious of our total insufficiency in ourselves; every good of mere natural growth, even our alacrity in learning the language, seems to droop, and nothing remains but what grace hath wrought. The Lord best knows, why he called to this station the most

feeble and inexperienced of his servants. However we will remain on our post, and vie with each other in the exercise of faith, though the prospect presents us with nothing but apparent impossibilities: yes, here we will stay till Jesus our Lord helps us; and our only concern shall be to please *Him*. We have one unfailing source of hope and comfort, that God often suffers his children to pass through straits to attain the object in view, and that we are remembered in prayer by many children of God in Europe\*."

Thus passed the first year of their abode in these polar regions, and for the five succeeding years their circumstances, both as to externals and their principal aim in residing in that inhospitable country, were not materially improved. It is not surprising, therefore, that they should at times be ready to lose courage and even consider it more advisable to return to Europe. But when in the year 1734, two new assistants, Frederick Boenish and John Beck, arrived and brought them the joyful intelligence, that it was the intention of the brethren at Herrnhut to support the mission to the utmost of their power, their drooping faith was revived, and the flame of holy zeal in their arduous service rekindled.

They now redoubled their diligence in learning the language, and by indefatigable perseverance conquered the principal difficulties; and so far became masters of it, as to understand the natives, and to converse with them on common topics; but when they wished to speak with them on religious subjects, they were greatly embarrassed. Herein they could obtain little assistance from their instructors, who told them that it would not be possible to translate any, but historical, pieces from Scripture; as the Greenlanders had no terms for expressing spiritual and divine subjects, and were unable to form even the least idea of them. In some time, however, by the help of God and frequent intercourse with the natives, they overcame this last and most formidable obstacle to their usefulness.

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\* Crantz, Vol. i. p. 339.

The missionaries continued to make frequent visits among the natives; and as they were still defective in the language, they read to them some pieces, translated by Mr. Egede, such as the Ten Commandments, the Lord's Prayer, and the Creed: reminded them of what he had formerly told them of the creation of the world, and the redemption of man, and tried to rectify what they had misapprehended. They readily gave their assent to these things, but as yet attained no saving knowledge of divine truth. Once, when Matthew Stach read a short prayer to them, they observed that the language indeed was very good and intelligible, but they could not comprehend the meaning of the words, *Jesus Christ, of being redeemed by his blood, and of knowing, loving, and receiving him.* By these visits, however, they gained one point of no small importance. Their free and affable, but yet prudent and serious deportment, equally removed from unbecoming levity and austere moroseness, won the esteem and confidence of the natives, so that they sought their company, constrained them to come into their houses, requested frequent visits, and promised to call upon them in return. The latter our brethren gladly encouraged, though, as yet, it seemed to be attended with little benefit, and often proved very troublesome.

The number of missionaries having been now increased to five persons, they formed some regulations among themselves, tending to their mutual edification, and the furtherance of the work in which they were engaged. They more especially agreed maturely to weigh, as in the sight of God, whether they felt a divine conviction, that he had called them to labour among the Greenlanders. After some weeks' consideration, they frankly disclosed to each other their sentiments on this important subject. The result was, that Christ. David, having only been appointed to conduct the first missionaries to the country, and being already in years and not able to learn the language, considered himself at liberty to return to Europe, but pledged himself to support the mission, wherever he might be, to the utmost of his ability. Christ. Stach, though he did not feel himself bound to devote his *whole* life to the service of the heathen, yet was willing to hold out ten years or

longer, even if no fruit should arise from his labours. The three remaining missionaries declared, that they would bind themselves in the strictest manner to this work, to believe without seeing, to hope against hope, and even to sacrifice their very lives to the service of the heathen.

Not long after this the faith of these devoted servants of God was put to a new and very severe trial. Owing to some untoward circumstances the ships, which arrived in 1735, brought them no supplies from Europe. The whole stock of provisions, they had in store, consisted only of a barrel and a half of oatmeal, part of which they bartered for malt, dried pease, and ship-biscuits, and from this scanty portion they had to provide Christ. David with the needful sea-store for his voyage home; and as there was a scarcity of provisions in the Danish colony, they could receive little assistance from that quarter. Add to this, that they obtained far less by hunting and fishing this season, than any preceding year; thus famine stared them in the face. In this extremity of distress, they had no resource left them, but to buy seals of the Greenlanders, as they themselves could not catch them. But these barbarians, observing the want of the missionaries, not only rated their seals very high, but even refused to sell them at all. Frequently, after rowing round among them for two or three days, their utmost entreaties could procure but a scanty portion, and when that was consumed, they were obliged to pacify the cravings of nature with shell-fish and sea-weed. While they could procure a sufficiency of the former, they retained their health and strength, but when obliged to live chiefly upon the latter, they became greatly debilitated.

During their excursions the missionaries were often exposed to the most imminent perils. Dire necessity forced them to venture out to sea in their old leaky boat, sometimes in very unsettled and stormy weather. Once, having almost reached the land, they were driven back two leagues by a sudden squall, drenched by the breakers, and obliged to remain four days on an island without any shelter. Another time, having quite exhausted their strength at the oars, they stopped over night in a desert place, and satisfied the calls of hunger with some

seal's-flesh, which they had procured from a Greenlander. Having no tent, they dug a hole in the snow and lay down, but were soon compelled to leave this retreat, as fresh snow drifted and stopped up the entrance; thus no expedient was left them, but to run up and down to keep themselves warm. Even in fair weather these excursions were not without danger. One of their number having embarked in a kajak, to angle for fish, was, by a sudden gust of wind and rolling waves, upset, and must inevitably have perished, if two Greenlanders, who were near at hand, had not come to his assistance, and, after tying him between their kajaks, towed him to land.

God did not forsake his faithful servants in these trying circumstances. He strengthened their faith in his all sufficient providence, when meditating on the examples recorded in holy writ of his people, who were sustained in famine and dearth, in weakness were made strong, and rescued out of a thousand dangers. They proved that the same gracious God still takes care of his children, and knows how to deliver them from all their fears. Help was often at hand when least expected. Thus when they were brought to the last extremity, He, who sent a raven to feed his prophet, disposed a strange Greenlander, called Ippagan, to come forty leagues from the south, and from time to time to sell them all he could spare. This heathen, till his resources were exhausted, was the instrument in God's hand for preserving the missionaries from actual famine. What rendered this occurrence peculiarly remarkable was, that in one of their summer excursions they accidentally met with this man, who received them with much kindness, took notice of their behaviour and conversation, and entered into serious discourse with them. Yet in their distress they did not recollect him, and would hardly have found him out, if they had even made search for him. He came to them of his own accord, towards the end of the year, and pitying their deplorable condition, invited them to pay him a visit.

They now and then earned a little by writing for the Danish missionaries, till the stock of provision at the colony began to fail. By this time however they had not only learned to be satisfied with every mean and scanty fare, but had also enured

themselves to the eating of seals' flesh, mixing up a little oat-meal with train-oil. Those, who know the nature of train-oil, may form some idea of the hardships which they endured. Yet even this was a delicacy, compared to the old tallow candles, they were frequently compelled to eat.

Almost worn out with fatigue and hardships, and not without anxious apprehensions as to their future prospects, our missionaries entered into the fourth year of their residence in Greenland. Now, at length, the Lord appeared for their effectual relief, as to their temporal support. In May 1736, they received intelligence from the Captain of a Dutch ship, lying thirty leagues to the south, that he had some goods on board his vessel, consigned to them, and which he was ordered to deliver into their own hands. One of them immediately repaired to the ship, where he was informed that Mr. Lelong in Amsterdam had sent them several articles of provisions, and that he and some generous friends intended, if they duly received the present stores, to furnish them with a fresh supply the following year. This seasonable help was the more welcome as neither they, nor the congregation at Herrnhut, had in any way solicited the aid of their friends in Holland. They gratefully accepted this generous offer, and particularly requested, that in case nothing else could be forwarded, they might be provided with a strong durable boat, an article they needed more than any thing else for procuring the necessaries of life, and which would render them less dependant upon assistance from Europe.

They now anxiously waited for the arrival of the Danish ships. At length the third of these ships reached their shore on the 7th of July: and though they did not bring them above half the supplies they wanted, they were greatly revived and strengthened by many letters and accounts from their brethren, and by the accession of new assistants. These were, Matthew Stach's mother, a widow of forty five years of age, with her two daughters, Rosina and Anna\*, the former twenty two, and the latter but twelve years old. Their conductor, George

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\* Both of them were in the sequel married: the elder to the missionary John Beck, and the younger to Frederic Boenish.

Wiesner, returned the next year to Europe. Their family being thus increased to seven persons, they were enabled to make a more regular arrangement in their housekeeping. The management of their domestic concerns was allotted to the sisters, and as it was intended that the two younger should be trained for missionary service among their own sex, they received instruction in the Greenland language, in which they acquired great proficiency\*.

Their external affairs now began to wear a more pleasing appearance; but with respect to the attainment of the benevolent object they had in view, the Lord in his infinite wisdom saw fit to try their faith and patience a little longer. They had scarce any opportunities for intercourse with the heathen. Few called upon them, except when driven by necessity to obtain victuals, and they shewed an utter aversion to religious discourse. If a missionary tarried among them more than one night, they used every diabolical art to entice him to join in their dissolute practices; and when they could not succeed in this, they endeavoured to vex and irritate him by mockeries, and by mimicking his reading, praying and singing, or by interrupting his devotions by their hideous howling and the noise of their drums. When the missionaries told them, that

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\* Having had repeated occasion to speak of Mr. Egede, and of his and his wife's kind attention to our brethern, it may here be mentioned, that having requested his dismissal, it was granted him in the most gracious terms, and he returned to Copenhagen this season, after having laboured in this country, with truly apostolical zeal for fifteen years, without seeing any abiding fruit from his exertions. Towards the close of the preceding year his wife died. Crantz gives her the character of a brave, magnanimous woman, who might with great propriety be called a *Christian heroine*, and adds, "I have never heard her name mentioned by our brethren, but with the most respectful and affectionate expressions, for indeed she treated them on all occasions as if they had been her children." Mr. Egede was succeeded in his office, as Danish missionary, by his eldest son who brought two assistants with him. Soon after his return to Copenhagen the father was honoured with an audience of the king, was made superintendent of the mission in Greenland with a yearly salary of 100*l*. and ordered to found a seminary for students and orphans to be instructed in the Greenland language, and educated for missionary services in that country. He spent his latter years in retirement, and closed his useful and honourable life on the 5th of November 1758, in the 73rd year of his age.

they did not reside in their country for the sake of temporal advantages, but to teach them the will of God, they would tauntingly reply,—“ Fine fellows indeed, to be our teachers ! we know very well that you yourselves are ignorant, and must learn your lesson of others.\*”

When the savages found, that they could effect nothing in this way, they resorted to other measures. They insulted and maltreated their persons. They pelted them with stones, climbed upon their shoulders, destroyed their goods, and even attempted to spoil their boat, or drive her out to sea, which would have deprived them of their chief means of support, and must have proved fatal to them. Their cruelty did not stop here. One night the missionaries perceived that some person was endeavouring to draw aside the curtains of their tent, which were fastened with a couple of pins. Going out to see who it was, they beheld, to their amazement, a number of Greenlanders with knives in their hands, who obstinately refused to go away, till they threatened them with their fire-arms. The missionaries supposed their only intention was to take away the skins which covered the tent : but some years after they learned that the savages had conspired against their lives, expecting that the other Europeans would not deem it worth their while to revenge the death of such poor despised people. And as it appeared in the sequel, that they were instigated to this wicked attempt by some malicious persons in the colony, our brethren sent a strong remonstrance to the Danish missionaries and factor, which was duly attended to, and had the desired effect.

Notwithstanding these overwhelming discouragements they still persevered in the path of duty. They continued their visits to the heathen, though without any visible success. Those that lived at a distance were stupid, ignorant and void of reflection ; and those in the vicinity, who had long been instructed, were not grown better, but rather worse, appearing disgusted with religious discourse, and hardened against the truth. Sometimes they urged their want of understanding as an excuse, and would say : “ Shew us the God you describe, then

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\* In these remarks they referred to their receiving instructions in the Greenlandic language. Crantz, Vol. i. p. 368.



will we believe in him and serve him. You represent him too sublime and incomprehensible, how shall we come to him? He will not trouble himself about us." At other times they exerted their wit in shocking and profane jests at the most sacred mysteries of religion.

Matthew Stach stayed once a whole month with some of them. He describes their behaviour towards him as very changeable. In the beginning they now and then suffered him to read to them out of the New Testament; but they soon lost their relish for this. One day, while it was raining very hard, they desired him to pray to the Son of God, whom he described as an almighty being, that he would give them good weather, and not let the rain penetrate into their houses. The missionary replied, there was no necessity for prayer in this case, as they need only spread their tent-skins upon the roof, and then the wet could not soak through; they ought rather to pray to God to have mercy on their souls. But for this they had no ears. Their conduct often became almost insufferable. Once they kept up a dance, for two whole nights successively, accompanied with the most hideous howling and drumming\*. The children, however, showed much fondness for Stach, and used to run after him wherever he went. He conversed familiarly with them, asked them a few questions, and for a while engaged their attention; but this was soon diverted, when any new thing attracted their notice; and thus the little they had learned was speedily forgotten.

In the beginning of 1738 many Greenlanders visited the missionaries. Their chief inducement was to get provisions, with which they were supplied as far as possible. Our brethren did not neglect this opportunity, but endeavoured to excite in them a hunger after that meat, which endureth unto life everlasting. Yet, as in former cases, their admonitions still failed of the desired effect.

One solitary instance, however, occurred, which served to revive their drooping spirits. Among their hungry guests,

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\* The missionary judged the number of those present to fall little short of one hundred and fifty.

was a young heathen, of the name of Mangek, who offered to take up his residence with them, if they would maintain him, promising that he would deliver to them whatever he caught. Though they did not believe that he would remain longer with them than while the present scarcity lasted, yet they willingly admitted him, looking upon him as an instrument sent them from above, for the purpose of acquiring greater proficiency in the language. They instructed him daily, and endeavoured more particularly to make him attentive to the state of his soul. At first, their instructions seemed unavailing, but by degrees they discovered some relentings of heart, and convictions of sin; and when they prayed with him tears generally started into his eyes. On this account his countrymen began to persecute him; and when they could not entice him to leave the missionaries, and join in their heathenish practices, they tried by various artifices to induce the brethren to put him away, falsely accusing him of having purloined several articles. Though he left them in the sequel, yet this occurrence animated their hope, and confirmed their resolution to persevere in sowing the seed of the gospel, looking to God for the increase.

Five years had now elapsed since their arrival in Greenland, and except the case just now related, which was but like the first 'dawn of the morning spread upon the mountain,' they had seen no fruit from their labours. They had tilled a soil apparently unfit for culture, and in tears, had sown the seed on hearts, seemingly as cold and barren as the coast where they had pitched their tents. But, now the Lord heard their prayers, and made it appear that their "judgment was with him, and their work with their God."

"June the 2nd," (write the missionaries) "many Southlanders visited us. Brother Beck was, at the time, copying a translation of a part of St. Matthew's Gospel. The heathen being very curious to know the contents of the book, he read a few sentences, and after some conversation with them, asked, whether they had an immortal soul, and whither that soul would go after death? Some said: 'Up yonder;' and others: 'Down to the abyss.' Having rectified their notions on this

point, he inquired, who had made heaven and earth, man, and all other things? They replied, they did not know, nor had they ever heard; but it must certainly be some great and mighty Being. He then gave them an account of the creation of the world, the fall of man, and his recovery by Christ. In speaking on the redemption of man, the Spirit of God enabled him to enlarge with more than usual energy on the sufferings and death of our Saviour, and in the most pathetic manner to exhort his hearers, seriously to consider the vast expense, at which Jesus had ransomed their souls, and no longer reject the mercy offered them in the gospel. He then read to them, out of the New Testament, the history of our Saviour's agony in the garden. Upon this the Lord opened the heart of one of the company, whose name was Kayarnak; who stepping up to the table, in an earnest manner, exclaimed, 'How was that? tell me that once more; for I do desire to be saved.' These words, the like of which had never before been uttered by a Greenlander, so penetrated the soul of brother Beck, that with great emotion and enlargement of heart, he gave them a general account of the life and death of our Saviour, and of the scheme of salvation through him."

In the mean time the other missionaries, who had been abroad on business, returned, and with delight joined their fellow-labourer in testifying of the grace of God in the blood of Jesus. Some of the pagans laid their hands on their mouths, which is their usual custom when struck with amazement. Others, who did not relish the subject, slunk away secretly; but several requested to be taught to pray, and frequently repeated the expressions used by the missionaries, in order to fix them in their memories. In short, they manifested such an earnest and serious concern for their salvation, as the missionaries had never witnessed before; and at going away, they promised soon to return, and hear more of this subject, and also to tell it to their countrymen.

The impression made on Kayarnak was not transient, for the Word had taken deep root in his heart. He frequently visited our brethren, and at length took up his residence with them. He told them, that he often felt a monition in his heart to pray,

and "when we speak to him," say they, "he is often so affected, that the tears roll down his cheeks." Considering the general stupidity of the Greenlanders, the missionaries were not a little surprised at the quickness with which he comprehended every thing which they told him, and at the retention of his memory. He manifested very strong attachment to them, and a constant desire for further instruction.

By means of his conversation those, who lived in the same tent with him, were brought under conviction. Thus, before the end of the month, three large families came with all their property, and pitched their tents near the dwelling of the missionaries, "in order," as they said, "to hear the joyful news of man's redemption." They all appeared much affected, and even some, who had formerly opposed the Word, declared that they would now believe, and winter with the missionaries. Most of them, however, soon went away to hunt reindeer; but Kayarnak refused to accompany them, fearing he should thereby suffer harm in his soul. He was hereby brought into great straits, as he had no tent of his own. This was the third time he had been abandoned by his friends, who had now taken the skin-boat and the tent, which, in part at least, were his property. Our brethren were not without fear lest his friends should entice him away, by exaggerating the difficulties of his new mode of life, and the restrictions he would be under, compared with the unbounded liberty, or rather licentiousness, in which the heathen live. But he remained firm to his purpose, and, instead of long vindications, used to reply to their mockeries and remonstrances by a short remark like this: "Yes, I will stay with my teachers, and hear the Word of God, which I have once found sweet to my taste." If they were disposed to hear him, he discoursed with them; if they railed at him, he held his peace, after he had borne his testimony to the truth in a few serious words. At length he prevailed so far with some of his nearest relatives, that they resolved to return; and even some other families desired leave to settle near the missionaries.

Thus in the beginning of October 1738, when the Greenlanders leave their tents and move into their winter houses,

above twenty persons took up their abode near the brethren. This induced them to commence regular morning and evening devotions with the two families of Kayarnak and his relation, Simek, besides the reading and expounding of the holy Scriptures on the Lord's day. Five of these persons, who appeared most serious, they selected as suitable candidates for baptism, and gave them more frequent instruction in the truths of salvation. They also began a school with the children; but this they found a most difficult and troublesome undertaking, for their scholars were so entirely unaccustomed to any kind of discipline, that it was nearly impossible to keep them to their lessons, and the parents themselves did not comprehend the use of reading and writing. They, however, succeeded so far, that some of them were able to read easy passages.

Among other evidences of a real work of grace having been begun in the hearts of some of the inhabitants in their little settlement, our missionaries notice particularly their desire to be instructed in prayer, and the remarkable change wrought in them in the prospect of death. Many of them fell sick during this period, but manifested comparatively little of that horror, which generally seizes the natives when dangerously ill. Kayarnak, in a severe fit of sickness, declared, that he felt no freedom nor inclination to pray for his recovery, but was resigned to the will of God.

The year 1739 was distinguished in the mission by the baptism of the first Greenland converts. This interesting and solemn transaction was performed on Easter-Sunday, March 29th. The candidates having, before the whole assembly, given a full account of the ground of their hope, and promised to renounce all heathenish customs and superstitions, to remain with their teachers, and walk worthily of the gospel, were in fervent prayer, with imposition of hands, commended to the grace of God, and baptized in the name of the Father, and of the Son, and of the Holy Ghost. The presence of the great Head of his Church was felt in the most powerful manner during this transaction; the tears flowed in streams from the eyes of those just baptized, and the spectators were so overcome, that they earnestly desired to be made partakers of the

same grace. The first fruits of the Greenland nation, who by this sacred rite were publicly ingrafted into the Christian Church, consisted of Kayarnak, his wife, his son, and his daughter.

A month had scarce elapsed before the hope, excited by this propitious event, received a very severe shock. A banditti of murderers, coming from the north, killed Kayarnak's brother-in-law, who also lived with the missionaries, under the pretence, that he had by sorcery caused the death of the ring-leader's son. They decoyed him out to sea, and most perfidiously thrust a harpoon into his body; and though he drew it out and fled on shore, they pursued him, stabbed him in thirteen places, and threw him over the rocks, where, after diligent search, his body was found in a pit, and buried. This occurrence spread a dreadful panic through the whole little settlement, especially, as the murderers had threatened to kill Kayarnak's other brother-in-law. The missionaries did all in their power to allay the fears of the Greenlanders; and the gentlemen of the Danish colony, likewise, interested themselves in the affair, and so far succeeded, as to take the ring-leader and several of the gang prisoners, in the presence of above a hundred of their countrymen. On his examination he confessed, that besides Kayarnak's brother-in-law, he had killed three persons with his own hands, and had been accessory in committing three other murders. But as he was subject to no human judicature, and ignorant of the divine law, they only read to him the ten commandments, threatened him severely, and let him go. This did not dispel the fears of Kayarnak, but rather increased them; and after spending some time in great disquietude, he declared, that he considered himself bound to conduct the brother of the deceased, whose life the ruffians chiefly sought, to a place of safety in the south. All the exhortations, remonstrances, and entreaties of the missionaries proved ineffectual to dissuade him from his purpose; for though he wept bitterly at leaving them, his fears prevailed, and he went to the south. Thus in the course of two weeks they beheld, with deep sorrow, their territory forsaken by most of its inhabitants, and had to endure the additional reproach

that they could indeed *baptize* heathen, but were not able to *make them real Christians*, and wean them from their roving manner of life. They were little aware, that this occurrence, which appeared so destructive to their hopes, would, by the over-ruling hand of God, become the means of diffusing the knowledge of the gospel in distant places, and increase the number of believing Greenlanders beyond their most sanguine expectations.

It was not long before they experienced some alleviation of the sorrow which these disastrous events had occasioned. Twenty-one boats of Southlanders passed by their settlement, and brought them the pleasing intelligence, that they had met the fugitives, who had told them many wonderful things about God, of which they wished to be better informed. After some time Simek and his family, who had accompanied Kayarnak on his flight, returned, and before winter nine families resided with them. Thus they had again full scope for their exertions; and though in their labours among these people they met with much to exercise their faith and patience, yet they had upon the whole more cause to rejoice than to mourn, as their instructions were evidently not without a blessing. The young people, in particular, six of whom attended the school, afforded them the most pleasing hopes.

Various circumstances concurred to render the year 1740 memorable in the annals of the Greenland mission.

A great change took place in the mode adopted by our brethren, in their endeavours to instruct the natives. The method, hitherto pursued by them, consisted principally in speaking to the heathen of the existence, the attributes and perfection of God, and enforcing obedience to the divine law, hoping by these means gradually to prepare their minds for the reception of the sublimer and more mysterious truths of the gospel: and it must be allowed that, abstractedly considered, this method appears the most rational; but, when reduced to practice, it was found wholly ineffectual. For five years our missionaries had laboured in this way, and could scarce obtain a patient hearing from the savages. Now, therefore, they determined, in the literal sense of the words, to preach CHRIST

AND HIM CRUCIFIED, without first "laying the foundation of repentance from dead works, and faith towards God." No sooner did they declare unto the Greenlanders "the word of reconciliation," in its native simplicity, than they beheld its converting and saving power. This reached the hearts of their audience and produced the most astonishing effects. An impression was made, which opened a way to their consciences, and illuminated their understandings. They no longer remained the stupid and brutish creatures, they had once been; they felt they were sinners, and trembled at their danger; they rejoiced in the offer of a Saviour, and were rendered capable of relishing sublimer pleasures than plenty of seals and the low gratification of sensual appetites. A sure foundation being thus laid in the knowledge of a Crucified Redeemer, the missionaries soon found that this supplied their young converts with a powerful motive to the abhorrence of sin and the performance of every moral duty towards God and their neighbour; taught them to live soberly, and righteously, and godly, in this present world; animated them with the glorious hope of life and immortality, and gave them the light of the knowledge of the glory of God, as the Creator, Preserver and moral Governor of the world, in a manner far more correct and influential, than they could ever have attained, had they persevered in their first mode of instruction. The missionaries, themselves, derived benefit from this new method of preaching. The doctrines of the cross of Christ warmed and enlivened their own souls in so powerful a manner, that they could address the heathen with uncommon liberty and fervour; and were often astonished at each other's powers of utterance. In short, the happiest results have attended this practice, not only on this occasion, and in Greenland, but in every other country, where our missionaries have since laboured for the conversion of the heathen.

In this year their external circumstances also took a more favourable turn. Their supplies of provisions from Europe became more regular, and they were in the sequel, subject to but few disappointments; and some restrictions, under which



the mission had hitherto laboured, were abrogated by a royal rescript.

The bright prospect of our missionaries, consequent on Kayarnak's conversion had been very much clouded by his sudden flight, and by the very slender hopes they entertained of his return. But these clouds were quickly dispersed. In about a year Kayarnak returned, bringing his brother and his family along with him, whose instruction had been one principal object of his journey. The missionaries perceived with inexpressible joy, that he had not lost ground in the knowledge and experience of the gospel, and that, during his residence among the heathen, he had diligently declared to them the way of salvation, and had daily engaged in religious exercises with his own family.

Several other Greenlanders settled at NEW HERRNHUT about this time, and evinced a serious concern for their salvation, which drew upon them opposition from some of their neighbours. This however did not deter them from extolling the grace of God, and their exhortations, joined to a consistent conduct, had very considerable influence on their countrymen, who often expressed their astonishment at what they heard. Sometimes the missionaries took the young converts with them on their visits to the heathen, which proved of material benefit. In their absence, Kayarnak held meetings for prayer with those Greenlanders who remained at home; and a young woman, who had been baptized about this time and called Sarah, was very useful among her own sex.

Their new converts were likewise of use to them in acquiring greater proficiency in the language. In hearing the natives pray, they became familiar with expressions, which they would not so readily have attained in any other way; and thus they learned from their converts to *speak*, after these had been taught by them to *think*. Therefore they now began to translate the Harmony of the four Evangelists.

It was not long, however, before a new trial befel them. In February 1741 the first fruits of their labours, Kayarnak, was seized with a pleurisy, which terminated his earthly pilgrimage.

During his illness he bore his sufferings with true Christian patience and fortitude, being filled with the hope of glory and immortality. When any of his friends began to talk with him about worldly affairs, he begged them not to encumber him with such things now, for his thoughts and affections were wholly engaged with our Saviour. Seeing some of them weep, he said, "Don't be grieved for me; have you not often heard that believers, when they die, go to our Saviour and partake of eternal joy? You know, I was the first of our nation, who was converted to the Saviour, and now it is his will that I should be the first to go to him. If you remain faithful to the end, we shall meet again before the throne of God and the Lamb, and rejoice for ever at the grace conferred upon us. He will know how to provide food for you, and especially for my wife." Contrary to the custom of the Greenlanders, both his wife and his brother shewed much resignation at his death, and requested our brethren to bury his corpse according to the manner of believers. The gentlemen and other persons, belonging to the colony of God-haab, attended the funeral. After singing some verses, one of the missionaries delivered a short discourse in the house. Four Greenland youths then carried the coffin to the place of interment. At the grave one of the Danish missionaries gave a short exhortation; and the whole was concluded with prayer. This solemn scene made a wonderful impression on those natives, who were present. His death was a severe stroke to our brethren: they lost in him a bright example of the efficacy of divine grace in renovating the heart, a lively and active witness of Christ among his countrymen, and a very useful assistant in translating the New Testament.

Our missionaries still proceeded with their usual activity in visiting and instructing the heathen, in which they were faithfully assisted by their converts. Wherever these went, in quest of food, they diffused the knowledge of the gospel, both by their words and by their conduct, which the pagans themselves acknowledged to be consistent with their profession. Thus, when our brethren followed them to these places, they generally found the way prepared, which greatly facilitated

their labours among the savages. Indeed it appeared that a general inquiry about the way of truth had been excited among the natives inhabiting this part of the coast, which brought many visitors to NEW-HERRNHUT, and annually increased the congregation of believing Greenlanders. The missionaries, however, observed the utmost caution before they admitted any to the sacred rite of baptism, not only because the impressions, made on the Greenlanders by the gospel, often proved transitory and evanescent, but because they were ever ready to grow proud and self-conceited when they had attained the least knowledge of divine things.

As a proof that the natives had been stirred up to inquire into the truths of the gospel, the following may suffice. In 1744, when the believing Greenlanders returned from the islands, they reported that they found many heathen, who gladly listened to them, when speaking of the Saviour, and desired to hear more; and those, who were disposed to mock, were generally silenced by the more sober-minded. One of the baptized found a number sitting together and conversing with much earnestness about the concerns of their souls. They constrained him to bear them company, and join in their discourse. The awakening extended to a greater distance, than the missionaries could conveniently visit. Of this they were informed by one of their baptized Greenlanders, who had found the savages, living many leagues to the north, very eager to be instructed. A company of them urged him to sit down and talk with them for a whole night; and when he stole away the second night, to get some rest, they followed and compelled him to gratify their desire of further conversation. Even a noted *angekok*, or necromancer, in that place, was much impressed. He wept two whole days, and told the people he had dreamed that he was in hell, where he saw and heard things, not possible to utter, adding, that he would no longer deceive them by his diabolical delusions.

In process of time this general stir among the heathen subsided; but the believing Greenlanders increased both in number and grace. At the close of 1748, no less than two hundred and thirty resided at NEW HERRNHUT, thirty-five of

whom had been baptized during that year. And though they were not without their imperfections; yet it was evident, that they progressively attained to greater stability. In their intercourse with one another, which became more and more characterised by brotherly love, in their faithful improvement of all the means of grace, and in the composure, and not unfrequently the triumphant hope, with which they met death and looked forward to a glorious immortality, they gave many pleasing proofs of the influence of the gospel on their hearts. Impediments of one kind or other were indeed often thrown in the way by Satan and his emissaries, the *angekoks*, who, fearing they should entirely lose their reputation and profits, invented all sorts of stories to deter their countrymen from believing the gospel; but their efforts were feeble and could not withstand the power of divine truth.

In 1747, the missionaries erected their first church, a wooden building, the frame work and boards of which had been sent from Europe. This proved a very great convenience, as the auditory frequently amounted to three hundred persons. Store-houses were at the same time built, both for the missionaries and their converts, which, to the latter, were peculiarly useful, as they could now keep their dried meat, fish, capelins and other articles for winter consumption, in a place of safety, where they were neither injured by the cold, nor devoured by beasts of prey. In consequence of this and the good regulations introduced among them, above three hundred persons could be maintained at NEW-HERRENHUT, a place, where it was formerly deemed impossible for two families to subsist. They had it even in their power to assist their poor neighbours in times of scarcity; and they were never deficient in this act of charity.

The year 1752, and the two following were marked by circumstances of a most calamitous nature. The winters of 1752 and 1753 exceeded in severity any in the memory of the natives. The cold was perfectly horrible, and all the inlets were frozen over and blocked up with ice, so that no *kajak* could stir for many days; and even when any of the Greenlanders went abroad they were not sure of their lives, and returned with their hands and faces frozen, and mostly without

having caught as much as a single bird. Notwithstanding the many perils to which they were exposed, when going out in quest of food, only one of the inhabitants of NEW-HERRNHUT perished at sea. Tempests, resembling hurricanes, were not unfrequent. On one occasion the storm nearly threw down the mission-house and chapel; and the violence of the waves completely shattered their new and largest boat, although drawn on shore. Famine succeeded this intense cold, and plunged the savages into the utmost distress, many being starved to death. Great as were the sufferings of the Christian Greenlanders, they were considerably mitigated by the solicitude of the missionaries for their welfare, and the more provident habits which they had acquired. A dreadful contagion followed in the train of these calamities, which carried off great multitudes, both natives and Europeans; our missionaries, however, escaped. It raged with great fury at NEW-HERRNHUT for three months. Besides those members of the congregation, who died in other places, thirty-five finished their earthly race in the settlement. Many of these evidenced, in the most striking manner, the powerful and elevating influence of religion on the soul, not only leaving this world without regret, but even rejoicing at the bright prospect beyond the grave; which is the more remarkable as the Greenlanders have naturally an excessive horror of death.

During these disasters our brethren had almost daily proofs of the astonishing power of true religion in meliorating the condition of men even in this life, when comparing the situation of the Christian Greenlanders with that of their pagan neighbours. In an account of one of their visits to the heathen in 1757, they write, "We passed on to a house, which for want of blubber, the people had long since forsaken.\* Near it we found fifteen persons half starved, lying in so small and low a provision-house that we could not stand upright, but were forced to creep in on our hands and knees. They lay one

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\* When the Greenlanders have burnt all their oil, or as their phrase is, when the lamps must go out, they move into a close hole, which requires fewer lamps to warm it.

upon another, in order to keep themselves warm. They had no fire, nor the least morsel to eat, and were so emaciated, that they did not even care to raise themselves and speak to us. At length a man brought a couple of fishes. A girl took one, raw as it was, tore it in pieces with her teeth and devoured it with avidity. She looked as pale as death, and her whole countenance was truly ghastly. Four children had already perished with hunger. We distributed among them a portion of our own scanty pittance, and advised them to go to our land, which however they seemed rather reluctant to do, as they had never showed any inclination to hear the gospel, and had very carefully avoided all intercourse with our Greenlanders \*." Indeed so little did these external distresses lead the heathen to a due sense of their spiritual need, and the benefits arising from religion, that though many of them came to the settlement and were hospitably entertained, and even acknowledged the superior excellence of the way of life of their believing countrymen; yet they manifested no real desire to become Christians, and most of them went away again as soon as the famine subsided.

The great mortality at NEW-HERRENHUT deprived the congregation of some of its best providers, and increased the number of widows and orphans. This rendered it necessary for the missionaries to make proper arrangements for the support of the destitute. In those families, where there was still a son left, the maintenance of the survivors was assigned to him. When there was no provider, the children were distributed among the rest of the families, to be trained to such kinds of manual labour as are required in Greenland. Orphans of a still younger age were confided to the care of some of the sisters; and infants at the breast were committed to those mothers who were still nursing †. It was pleasing to observe

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\* Crantz, Vol. ii. p. 258.

† There is nothing from which the Greenland women are more averse than to nurse the child of a stranger, lest it should become a rival in their affections to the prejudice of their own children. In this case the Greenlanders are totally devoid of feeling and compassion, and there is no alternative left for the unfortunate father, who cannot bear to witness the linger-

that the Christian Greenlanders yielded the most cheerful obedience to these regulations, and that many, who were less able, put to shame their richer neighbours. Our missionaries did not lighten the burden to themselves. They clothed several destitute children, and provided boats and other necessary implements for many of the boys, that they might be able to support themselves and their poorer relatives. For it was their constant aim to educate their young people in habits of industry, and not to collect together a company of idle and poor people, who must be burthensome to their friends in Europe.

In their endeavours to bring the heathen to a saving knowledge of the gospel, our brethren met with many instances of its transforming and ennobling influence. Among several instances of this kind, related by Crantz in his history of the Greenland mission, the following two, which occurred about this time, are remarkable.

“ One of their earliest acquaintances was a South Greenland, of the name of Kainack, whose intercourse with them commenced in the year 1739, and their conversation seemed even then to make some impression upon his mind. This he endeavoured to shake off; for being of a good family\*, and making a great figure, he was regarded as a prince by his countrymen, and feared to lose his fancied dignity and reputation, by joining himself to the believers; for in Greenland, as well as elsewhere, decided adherence to the Lord and his people, is connected with reproach from worldly men. His conscience, however, was disquieted; and with a view to get rid of this uneasiness of mind, he led a roving life. In this state he committed several outrages. One man he beat so severely that he crippled him; at another time he lay in wait for some of the

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ing death of his motherless infant, but to bury it *alive* with its mother. It affords, therefore, no small proof of the influence of divine grace, when a Greenland woman, professing Christianity, conquers this savage disposition and becomes a kind foster-parent to an orphan-child.

\* In Greenland a man is reckoned of noble family, if he is descended from a father, grandfather, and great grandfather, who were renowned seal-catchers.

Christian Greenlanders, and threatened to set the house of the missionaries on fire, because they took a woman under their protection, whom he wished to marry against her will. In the sequel, indeed, he accomplished his purpose, and this very woman proved the means of his genuine conversion. She brought him more frequently under the sound of the gospel, and thus his early impressions, which, like a smothered spark, had lain dormant in his breast, were rekindled. Having given sufficient evidence of his sincerity, he was baptized together with his wife, at NEW-HEERNHUT, in 1753. As soon as they could leave their winter-houses, his whole household, upwards of twenty in number, removed to the settlement, and the greater part of them were, in the sequel, likewise baptized. As his conversion excited a good deal of observation in the country, our missionaries had for a while a large number of hearers, many of whom prepared to follow him. As for Kainack himself, he became as quiet and peaceable after his baptism, as he had been wild and ungovernable before. He died rather suddenly three years after, while he was among the islands, with his family, who lost in him an industrious and faithful father, and the congregation a respectable member and sincere follower of Christ."

While this instance beautifully illustrates the care of the good Shepherd, in going after his sheep, which was lost, until he found and brought it to his fold; the one which follows, presents us with an example of true Christian charity.

"An account being read to the congregation at NEW-HEERNHUT, of the destruction of the Brethren's settlement among the Indians at Gnadenhutten\*, in North America, the Greenlanders were so affected, that they burst into loud weeping, and spontaneously made a proposal to raise some contributions among themselves for their poor brethren. "I have a fine reindeer skin, which I will give," said one; and another, "I have a new pair of reindeer boots, which I will send." A third added: "I will send them a seal that they may have something to eat and to burn." Now, although their contributions, when

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\* See Chapter III.



turned into money, were of no great value, yet our missionaries did not choose to reject them, but ordered the amount of the whole to be remitted to the sufferers in America, as an evidence of the benevolent influence of the gospel in Greenland.\*"

Though near two hundred Greenlanders, baptized by our missionaries, had finished their earthly career; their congregation consisted now of four hundred persons. Since the year 1742, when the first general awakening of the natives commenced, the increase had been considerable, at least in proportion to the population of the country. The same rapid increase was no longer to be expected; for as several new colonies had been established by the Danes and provided with missionaries from the royal Mission College in Copenhagen, most of the heathen, living in the North and near Ball's river, attended the preaching at Godhaab. Our Brethren had had regular stations for preaching the gospel in the islands of Kook and Kangek, to which the Greenlanders from the South generally resorted, and where they sometimes, on their journeys to and from the North, took up their abode for a year or two, and it was chiefly from these people they had received their converts. By them, also, our missionaries had been often invited to establish a settlement somewhere in the South, as many in that part of the country were disposed to receive the gospel, but did not incline to move to NEW-HERRNHUT, being apprehensive that they would not be able to support themselves there. For though the country about Ball's river is one of the finest districts in Greenland, the natives cannot easily resolve to leave the place of their nativity and settle elsewhere, since the mode of procuring a livelihood differs more or less in every place, and a year or two are generally spent in acquiring the necessary new habits and practices, during which time they mostly suffer great want of provisions. Indeed the missionaries themselves did not wish the settlement at NEW-HERRNHUT to become too numerous; for though the experience of subsequent years has shewn, that the place is capable of supporting a considerable number of inhabitants; yet they found it difficult to main-

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\* Crantz, Vol. ii. p. 130, 255, 266.

tain proper regularity and discipline in a congregation, whose number rendered attention to the individual members almost impossible, a circumstance peculiarly necessary in the care of converts from among the heathen.

For these reasons, and in the hope of extending their usefulness, they had for some years frequently deliberated on the practicability of forming a second settlement, and several places had been under consideration in this view, but none of them appeared eligible. Meanwhile the Danes established a factory at Fisher's bay, about one hundred miles to the south of NEW HERRNHUT. This induced our brethren to transmit a memorial to the President of the Greenland Trading Company in Copenhagen, offering to form a settlement in that neighbourhood. Their offer was readily accepted; but its execution was for some time impeded.

Every needful arrangement being at length made, Matthew Stach\* and two other brethren, set sail for Greenland in 1758. Having rested a few weeks at NEW HERRNHUT, and concerted the needful measures with the missionaries there, they proceeded to Fisher's bay, on the 19th July, accompanied by four Greenland families, consisting in all of thirty two persons, destined to make the beginning of the new congregation. It was the wish of the Trading Company that they should settle as near to the colony as they deemed most convenient for the Mission. After diligently exploring that part of the country, they fixed on Akonamick, where an old Greenland house was still standing, as the most eligible spot. It is situate on an island, about three miles from the main ocean, and nearly at an equal distance from the factory, and though it affords no prospect to the sun, which is peculiarly desirable in Greenland, and his beams are entirely intercepted by a high mountain for three months in the year; yet they chose this spot, as it possessed

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\* He was one of the first missionaries who went to Greenland, but had retired to Germany to spend his latter years among his friends there. He however still felt the most lively interest in the mission. No sooner was it proposed to him to undertake this new expedition; than he was ready to go, especially as he had always felt a strong inclination to carry the gospel farther to the South, though he was well aware that new dangers and toils awaited him.

the following three advantages: fresh water, which is never entirely frozen; a secure harbour for their boats; and a strand which remains open the whole year, and is not at too great a distance from the ocean.

In erecting their house they had to encounter various difficulties, as they had not been able to bring the necessary materials for building with them, and the place itself supplied them with very few; they could not even derive much assistance from the Greenlanders, as they had to build their own houses. They were obliged to roll the stones to the spot, carry the earth in bags, and fetch the sods by water from another place.

At first the Greenlanders found it difficult to maintain themselves at LICHTENFELS, which was the name given to the new settlement: but discovering at no great distance a strait, through which the seals ran into a narrow bay, they found it practicable to prevent their escape, and thus they could often kill several at a time. This not only afforded them a providential supply, but was the more remarkable, as the natives declared they had never before seen seals in that inlet. Yet, though it alleviated the difficulty, it did not entirely remove it. A scarcity, little short of famine, prevailed in that district, for two or three years, and many of the heathen died of absolute want. The inhabitants of LICHTENFELS indeed suffered less, yet they were often driven to great shifts, frequently having nothing to eat, but a few crow-berries left on the ground during winter, and some small meagre fishes. At other times they lived upon muscles and sea-weeds, which they gathered on the strand at low water. Yet amidst all their poverty they were content, and never complained, but helped each other as far as they could, and when one caught a seal, all the inmates of the house received a share. The missionaries could not relieve them to the extent of their wishes, being themselves reduced to great straits, especially as they had not yet been able to erect a store-house, in which to secure their provisions during the bad weather. Till this defect was removed, the Greenlanders did not reap the full benefit of their industry during the summer months. Yet, by means of their diligence they were even

then able to dispose of a greater quantity of blubber to the factor at the colony, than he received from the whole district besides.

During the frequent voyages, which our missionaries as well as their converts were obliged to make, they often encountered most imminent perils, but likewise experienced the most wonderful preservation of their lives. The following instances may serve as examples.

In March 1759, four of the missionaries of LICHTENFELS, in one of their voyages, were overtaken by a dreadful snow-storm, and obstructed by the drift-ice, so that they could neither proceed nor return. After long and severe toiling, however, they reached the shore, but the sea ran so high, that they were afraid to land, lest they should be dashed to pieces against the rocks. The only wish left them seemed to be that one of them might escape, to tell what was become of the rest. At length the tide made a sufficient opening between the masses of floating ice, and thus they could proceed and land with safety.

Two Greenlanders, being despatched with letters to Frederick's-haab, were obliged to sit two whole nights in their kajaks upon the ice, which at first constantly broke in with them. It was the third night before they came to a house. Had they not then been so fortunate, they would in all probability have perished, as their thirst was intolerable, having had no water for forty-eight hours. Their sweat, occasioned by severe and incessant labour, oozed through their clothes, and by the intense cold, was instantly congealed to ice. One of them had his hands frozen. Both their kajaks were also much damaged.

In November the weather was uncommonly tempestuous. At one time the storm shook the mission-house as violently as if there had been an earthquake. Many Greenland houses and boats were damaged, and eight persons were lost at sea. Such was the violence of the wind, that it even split and tore open the ice, but the holes were immediately filled by drifted snow. Before and after the storm, balls of fire were observed in the air in different places. One of them fell near a house

and began to burn it. A similar phenomenon was seen about christmas, at mid-day, while the sun was shining in its usual splendour.

Our brethren had not been long settled at LICHTENFELS, before many of the natives visited them, especially those who lived near the factory, and on the other side of the island, though the way by land to both places is at least six miles through rugged valleys and over steep cliffs. Besides some widows and their children and some single women, two families took up their abode with them, and diligently attended the preaching of the gospel. Considerable impression was also made on the minds of the neighbouring heathen, who by degrees obtained a general knowledge of the truths of religion, but as yet, could not resolve to relinquish their pagan customs, and embrace the gospel. When the necessity of conversion was urged upon them, they always had some excuse or other to make for deferring it to a more convenient season.

However the seed of the Word sown by the missionaries, though it lay for a while buried in the earth, did not remain unfruitful. Those, who resided near the factory, were for the most part very desirous to hear the gospel, and when the missionary had preached in one house, they followed him into another, in order to hear something more. One of the sailors once remarked, that these Greenlanders acted much more like Christians than the Europeans, since some of them joined together every evening, with great devotion, in praying and singing hymns. The visits to the heathen, living on the east side of the island, in particular, seemed to promise a rich harvest. In January 1760, the first heathen family was baptised at LICHTENFELS. There was some resemblance between it and that of Kayarnak, the first fruits of the mission at NEW HERRNHUT. Like the latter it consisted of father, mother, son, and daughter, they all came from the south, and had but lately settled with the brethren. The increase of this new congregation was such, that in a few years two hundred and ninety persons resided at LICHTENFELS.

To return to NEW-HERRNHUT. The work of the Lord prospered. Many heathen, especially Southlanders, visited

the place. Some were quite savage and indisposed to listen to the gospel\*. Others were not quite insensible to its importance, yet were unwilling to make a profession. They even forbade their relations to hear the gospel, alleging, that they had seen too many examples of people, especially of young persons, who after paying serious attention to the doctrine of Christ's suffering and death, only once or twice, were so captivated, that they could never rest till they lived with the believers, and that often to the great grief of their nearest relatives. If any one, therefore, resolved to live with the believers, he might be considered as gained over to the faith, and instances of leaving the brethren, after residing with them, became more and more rare. In general they had weighed the subject for years together; their final determination in favour of Christianity might, therefore, in most cases, be considered as the effect of the operation of the Holy Ghost on their hearts. Pleasing instances of this kind were not unfrequent. The number annually added to the Church by baptism was between thirty and forty, and some years it exceeded fifty. The inhabitants of this settlement, in 1769, amounted to five hundred and forty.

About this time our missionaries lost their most useful native assistant, Daniel. He received his first impressions of divine truth, under a sermon of the Danish missionary, Mr. Drachart, in the year 1745, and proving by his walk, that he had sincerely embraced the gospel, he was baptized by that gentleman in 1747, at God-haab, and the following year moved to NEW-HERRNHUT. Our missionaries soon discovered that he was possessed of talents, far superior to the generality of his countrymen, and as his conduct was consistent with his profession, they appointed him to assist them in preaching the

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\* "It shocked me," says Crantz, who was then on a visit in Greenland, "to see many of them pierced to the heart, so that they trembled, snuffed, and flew like frightened deer, and sometimes, like a man in strong convulsions, tagged their coat, or boots, in order to stifle their convictions, and as soon as the preaching was over, they ran off in haste, lest the subject should be more closely applied to them."

gospel and instructing the natives. In this he was indefatigable, and, when any heathen visited the settlement, he never neglected speaking to them, and explaining all the regulations of the place. Yet his zeal was tempered with prudence, and when he met with people, who were disinclined to hear, or turned the subject into ridicule, he did not obtrude the gospel upon them, but left them, after giving them a gentle, yet serious, reproof. In general, however, the heathen heard him gladly. His manner, when addressing *them*, was lively, engaging, and intrepid, but when speaking to his fellow believers, his discourses were simple, affectionate, and impressive. He made frequent use of striking similes, and knew how to apply them with good effect to the hearts and consciences of his hearers. He felt truly interested in the salvation of his countrymen, and spared no pains to promote it; and for this purpose, besides his constant labours near home, he once undertook a journey of eight weeks to a considerable distance to the North, the immediate fruit of which was, that all his relations, then living, followed him to NEW-HERRNHUT, and became worthy members of that congregation. He left the world in sure prospect of a better inheritance. He was much respected at the Danish colony, and the agents of the trade used to call him *the man of God*, and listened to his discourses with astonishment.

Hitherto both the health and the lives of our missionaries had been remarkably preserved. Even those who came first to this country were still in full activity. Notwithstanding the many privations they had suffered, the incessant toils and hardships they had encountered, and the repeated dangers to which they had been exposed, none of them had been afflicted with any serious or alarming sickness. Now, however, a breach was made among them, by the departure of brother Frederick Boenisch, who entered into the joy of his Lord on July 29th, 1763, in the fifty fourth year of his age, twenty eight of which he had spent in the service of this mission.

A singular circumstance occurred in the year 1768. An Angekok, or sorcerer, who had often heard the gospel, but seemingly without effect, was so terrified by a dream, that from

that time he altered his manner of life, preached repentance and conversion to his former adherents, and despatched messengers to NEW-HERRNHUT with the request, that a missionary would come and instruct them in the doctrines of salvation ; which request, was gladly complied with. It is not easy to determine, how far this occurrence might tend to rouse the attention of the natives, and thus pave the way for their reception of the gospel ; so much, however, is certain, that a new awakening arose in those parts, and extended as far as LICHTENFELS and even farther, and many were in the following year added to the Church by baptism.\*

In 1773, brother Christopher Michael Koenigseer arrived in Greenland, having been appointed to have the superintendency of the whole mission. Besides the faithful discharge of the various and important duties of his office, he rendered essential service to the mission, by the correct knowledge he acquired of the language, though already far advanced in years. Being the first missionary in that country, who had had the advantage of a learned education, he was qualified to correct the translations of his predecessors, and to add several new versions. Among these were, a Greenland Hymn-book, a translation of the Summary of Christian Doctrine, (a kind of catechism) and some smaller pieces.

Desirous still further to extend their benevolent labours, our brethren in 1774, began a new settlement, to the south of LICHTENFELS, not far from Cape Farewell, to which they gave the name of LICHTENAU†. The first missionaries, labouring on this station, were John Soerensen and his wife, and the single brother Gottfried Grillich. Four families of Christian Greenlanders had come with them to begin the new settlement. From the very first many heathen attended the preaching of the gospel, so that they frequently had above one hundred and

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\* Here ends the history of Crantz.

† Ten years before this period, brother Mat. Stach had visited this part of the country, which was then but little known, though most of the inhabitants in the two other settlements had come from it. He spent the winter in these parts, and the immediate fruit of his zealous exertions in preaching the gospel, was that a family of six persons moved to New-herrnhut.



fifty hearers, which obliged them to perform divine service in the open air, till they could erect a house for that purpose. During the winter of 1775, nearly two hundred persons resided at LICHTENAU; and in a few years the number of baptized Greenlanders, belonging to that congregation, amounted to two hundred and five.

Some new regulations which were made by the Directors of the Greenland Trading Company in 1776, proved advantageous to the natives in a temporal point of view, but were in other respects detrimental to the mission. An order was issued at the same time, directing that fewer Greenlanders should reside together in one place, which, it was supposed, would promote the trade. In consequence of this, the Christian Greenlanders were in part dispersed, and obliged to take up their residence in different places, at the distance of ten or twelve miles from the settlements. This greatly increased the labour of our brethren, as they considered it their duty, besides sending a native assistant with each company, to visit them occasionally themselves. But these journeys were often rendered extremely difficult, and at times even impossible; and the converts received spiritual injury, by being deprived of the regular instructions of the missionaries.\*

In 1782 the country was again visited by a dreadful contagion, which occasioned great distress, both at NEW-HERRING HUT and LICHTENFELS. In the former place the number of deaths from April till August amounted to one hundred and twenty five, among whom were several native assistants, and some of the most expert and diligent providers. Many families were in consequence reduced to great straits; and sometimes there was scarce a sufficient number of healthy persons to bury the dead. In LICHTENFELS the disease broke out a little later, but proved equally fatal. Under these afflicting circumstances the missionaries had this great consolation, that the patients looked forward to their dissolution in assured hope of happiness beyond the grave.

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\* This regulation, being continued in the sequel, led to the establishment of several Greenland villages, or *out-places*, in the vicinity of each of the settlements.

The period now under review passed without any striking incidents. The settlements at NEW-HERENHUT and LICHTENFELS received but little increase from heathen embracing the gospel, as few resided in those parts. LICHTENAU, on the contrary, still remained a gathering-place, where many pagans attended the preaching, and by degrees were embodied with the Church of Christ. Some of these came from a considerable distance. Thus two men visited that settlement in October 1785, who had come from the east coast, probably a distance of, at least, five hundred miles, having spent the whole summer on their journey. At other times several hundred savages resided some months in their vicinity, for the purpose of procuring provisions. These occurrences were zealously improved by the missionaries, and they had the pleasure to find, that their testimony of the truth as it is in Jesus, in several instances evinced its saving power.

As various baneful effects were observed to arise from the dispersion of the Christian Greenlanders, they resolved that a missionary and his wife should winter with them in each of their principal provision-places, in order that the regular ministry of the word and the ordinances, and the schools, might not be interrupted. They made a trial of this measure in 1786, and found it of evident utility; but in the sequel insurmountable difficulties prevented its continuance. By degrees however, the converts themselves became sensible, that they suffered much harm in their souls by their long absence from their teachers. Many therefore refused to leave the settlements in future, and most, who had removed, gradually returned.

In 1786, brother Koenigseer fell asleep in Jesus, in the sixty fourth year of his age, the last thirteen of which he had spent in the service of this mission, being intrusted with the general superintendency of all its concerns. He was succeeded in his office by brother Jesper Brodersen, a student of theology, who had arrived about two years before.

Brother Brodersen resided alternately at NEW-HERENHUT, LICHTENFELS, and LICHTENAU\*, devoting all the energies

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\* New-herrnhut is the most northern, and Lichtenau the most southern set-

of his mind to the service of the Lord in this country. Besides his regular avocations in the work of the ministry, and the superintendency of the whole mission, he paid particular attention to the instruction of the native children and young people. He employed his leisure hours in translating several historical pieces of the Old Testament\*, and select portions of the prophecies of Isaiah; and in compiling a selection of hymns in the Greenland language. Having brought a small printing press from Europe, he struck off a number of copies for immediate circulation, till the whole work could be printed in Germany. The mission, however, did not long enjoy his useful services. A severe fit of illness, in April 1792, so weakened his constitution, that he could indulge no hopes of recovery in this rigorous climate and therefore found himself necessitated to return to Europe in 1794. He had been preceded in his return to Europe by John Soerensen, being then in his eightieth year, forty nine of which he had spent in the service of this mission.

Amidst many imperfections among their converts the missionaries found constant cause to acknowledge, with unfeigned gratitude to God, the blessing which attended their labours for the conversion of the Greenlanders, and this they considered an ample recompence for the many difficulties and dangers which they had to encounter in the discharge of their various duties. But the dispersion of the Greenlanders continued, as in former years, to excite painful apprehensions, lest their separation from their teachers, and their being deprived of the usual means of grace in the settlement, should have an injurious influence on their spiritual course, and impede their progress in Christian knowledge and practice. In order, as far as possible, to prevent this, one of the native assistants always accompanied each party, and stayed with them during their absence from the settlement, keeping daily morning and evening devotions with them. One or other of the missionaries also visited

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tlement. The distance from New-herrnhut to Lichtenfels is one hundred miles, and from there to Lichtenau four hundred miles.

\* The Harmony of the four Gospels had been previously translated.

them as often as circumstances would permit. These visits were frequently attended with much danger; for, as they must be made by water, their progress was sometimes unexpectedly obstructed by large pieces of floating ice, which damaged their boat, and left them no means of safety but by leaping on the ice, dragging the boat after them, and seeking the nearest shore.

The missionaries were exposed to great hazards in the prosecution of their temporal calling, of which the following is an instance. In June 1794, two of our brethren, having gone to a neighbouring island to fetch drift-wood\*, were so completely surrounded with ice, that for many days their return remained impracticable. Their fellow-missionaries in NEW-HERRNHUT, being apprehensive for their safety, repeatedly sent Greenlanders in search of them; but these found the ice impenetrable to their kajaks. The two brethren, however, were fortunate in catching a sufficient quantity of fish to support life, and at length succeeded in finding a passage through the ice, but at a great distance from the settlement. After a most fatiguing walk over high mountains, and across extensive plains, they safely arrived at NEW-HERRNHUT, having been absent a whole month.

Though the natives are far more enured to the rigours of the climate, and much better able to encounter the perils connected with their mode of life, than Europeans, yet even many of them perish in consequence of these dangers; but they also often experience the most striking preservation and deliverance.

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\* A great quantity of various kinds of wood annually floats down, mostly along with the ice, to the bays and islands on this coast. (See Crantz, Vol. i. p. 37. This wood is a great benefit to this barren country, and besides answering other purposes, is used by the missionaries for fuel. If therefore the severity of the weather, or other circumstances, prevent their collecting a sufficient quantity of this wood in the proper season, they are exposed to great hardships. This happened in the year 1793, when the long continuance of severe weather rendered it impracticable to procure their usual stock of drift wood. They were consequently reduced to the unpleasant necessity of heating their rooms, during intense cold, for three months after the Greenland manner, by burning train-oil in lamps, reserving the little wood they had for the purpose of cooking.

A few instances of this kind, which occurred during this period, will doubtless be interesting to the reader.

Two Greenlanders from LICHTENAU, returning in their kajaks from catching seals, were so jammed in by the fresh ice, which was accumulating around them, that their destruction appeared inevitable. Their perilous situation was observed from the shore, but it was impossible to come to their assistance. Soon after the wind drove them along with the ice out to sea, and their friends, completely losing sight of them, were thrown into the utmost anxiety. In the mean time, however, they had reached a large piece of the old ice, (the only one remaining in the bay,) upon which they climbed, drawing their kajaks after them. On this piece of ice, barely large enough to afford room for them and their kajaks, they spent the night, which was piercingly cold. The next morning the new ice had attained sufficient firmness to bear their weight, and they walked home on it in safety.

A company of four Europeans and three Greenland women, travelling by land from Nappartok to God-haab, a distance of only eight or ten miles, were so overcome by cold and hunger, that three of the Europeans and one of the natives, belonging to the Danish factory, fell down by the way, one after the other, and were frozen to death.

But the hardships and dangers, unavoidably connected with their situation in these frozen regions, are not the only difficulties that must be encountered by a missionary. His very voyage to this country, or back again to Europe, is replete with perils. Of this brother Grillich made a most painful experience on a voyage, which he made to Copenhagen on business of the mission. He left Greenland in October 1798, with a ship belonging to Julianenhaab, but, after beating about five weeks, the vessel was so much damaged by drift-ice, that she was obliged to return to the colony. In February 1799 he again set sail in the same ship, but the quantity of drift-ice at sea was greater than before, and they were closely hemmed in by it from the 18th to the 25th of that month. At length, finding the ship so clogged and injured by it, that she could not be saved, the captain was under the necessity of quitting her, with

all the property on board. On the last-mentioned day, therefore, the whole ship's company began their march over the ice, dragging a boat after them. They spent two nights in the open air, and had no means of quenching their thirst, but the melted snow. On the third morning they came to open water, put in their boat and sailed five leagues, when they again reached the barren coast of Greenland. They had scarce landed, before a tremendous storm arose with snow and sleet, so that had they been still at sea, they must have all perished. But now they were in a disastrous situation, without any food or covering for the night. On the following day, however, it pleased God to send them a favourable wind, with which they sailed five leagues, and reached the colony at Frederick's-haab in safety, where brother Grillich was detained till April, and could not reach LICHTENFELS till May. He at length arrived safe at Copenhagen, October 29th, with the ship from God-haab.\*

After the return of brother Grillich to Greenland our three settlements were again visited by a dangerous epidemic, in consequence of which many of the converts departed this life, among whom were some of the most active and useful native assistants. The sorrow, felt by the missionaries on account of the loss thus sustained by the whole congregation, was more than balanced by the happy frame of mind, with which the patients bore their bodily sufferings, viewing death and the grave as the avenues to immortality and eternal life.

But, it was not only when visiting the sick, or attending the death-beds of their converts, that they had the pleasure to observe the gracious influence of the gospel on their minds. They frequently beheld this influence in the secret operations of the Spirit of God, convincing their hearers of sin, and leading them to our Saviour, as the only true source of happiness. Among many instances of this kind, which came to the knowledge of our brethren, they relate the following in their diary of 1804.

“ One of our people called upon us, in order, as he said, to

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\* Per. Acct. Vol. ii. p. 361.

confess his abominable intention. He informed us, that on account of many quarrels, which lately occurred in his family, (which he now acknowledged to have been mostly provoked by his own inconsiderate language,) he had formed a resolution to seclude himself from all society, by retiring into the wilderness. 'With this intention,' said he, 'I left home and spent some nights in a lonely place. But as I was about to proceed to a still greater distance, I thought, O! how happy are those people, whom the Lord himself reproveth and chasteneth, when they are going astray; O that I were one of them! As I was rowing along the sea seemed to assume a most dreadful appearance, and with all my exertions I could not get forward; my kajak appeared fixed to the bottom, though I was in the deepest part of the bay. I was frightened, and immediately tried to regain the shore. Here I spent the night in the greatest distress, and as soon as it was day returned to my family with shame and repentance. Now I most fervently thank our Saviour that he delivered me from the ways of destruction. Never more will I follow the impulse of my own heart, but *He* shall be my only Lord and Master.\*"

In the year 1804 the missionary Rudolph and his wife experienced an almost miraculous preservation of their lives, in attempting to return to Europe, after a service of twenty six years in the Greenland mission. They left LICHTENAU on June 18th and in the evening of that day went on board the ship, which was lying off the Danish factory of Julianenhaab; but were detained by the drift-ice, which blocked up the bay, till the 14th of July, when they weighed anchor. Having, with great difficulty entered Dutch-haven, about two miles from the colony, they were again detained for several weeks by the ice and the continuance of southerly winds.

The captain being informed by some Greenlanders, that the sea, at no great distance, was free from ice, once more weighed anchor, on August 22nd, resolved at least to make an

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\* Per. Acct. Vol. iii. p. 109. Crantz relates in his History of Greenland, that in case of quarrels between husband and wife, one of them sometime<sup>s</sup> runs away into the wilderness, abandoning for years, and even for life, all human society. Granz, Vol. i. p. 160.

attempt to get into clear water. The wind was contrary and very high, and there was still much ice within sight. They sailed between huge masses of ice, which made a roaring noise, and caused a most uneasy motion in the ship. To secure her, as far as possible, from damage, several large pieces of ice were fastened to her sides with grappling irons. Thus they cut their way through immense fields of ice, which sometimes rose mountain-high. In this manner they proceeded for three days, encountering many fears and dangers, but happily unconscious of the still more dreadful calamities, which awaited them.

“Early on August 25th.” writes brother Rudolph\*, “a storm arose from the south-west, which drove the ice-mountains close to our ship. The scene was awful and horrible; and we expected that the ship would have been crushed to pieces. Once she struck upon a small rock, but was got off without receiving any damage. But soon after she struck her bows with such a force against a large field of ice, that several planks started at once and the water rushed in. The captain immediately jumped into a small boat, with part of the crew; and having landed them on a large field of ice, he returned for another party. The rest were employed in loosing the large boat, in order to save themselves; for the ship was rapidly filling with water, and perceptibly going down on her starboard side, so that by the time the boat was let down only the larboard gunwale appeared above water. The captain and all the sailors having left the ship, my wife and I were alone, standing above our knees in water, and holding fast by the shrouds. At last, Capt. Kiar† came to our assistance saying, ‘I cannot possibly forsake these good people.’ By his help we got into the boat, and likewise had our hammock and bed secured.

“We left the wreck, being about a league from the land, and about seventy-eight miles distant from LICHTENAU. Our boat

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\*See his Journal, which contains a detailed account of this perilous voyage, in *Per Acct.* Vol. iv. p. 341—360.

†Capt. K. was not the master, of the ship, in which the missionaries sailed, but belonged to one which had been stranded near Statenhuck and was now returning to Europe.



being heavily laden, and having already taken in much water, we feared she would sink, and were therefore obliged to steer for the nearest island. It proved to be a rough, pointed, and naked rock ; at a considerable height, however, we found a small spot covered with short grass. We now endeavoured to land the provisions saved from the wreck, but the waves beat frightfully against the rock, and tossed the boat up and down with such violence, that the rope broke, and she was driven out to sea. In order to bring her back, eight men immediately leaped into the small boat ; but though they came up with the large boat, the fury of the tempest baffled all their efforts to regain the landing place ; they were driven to the other side among the ice, by which both our boats were crushed to pieces ; nor did we entertain the smallest doubt that the sailors had perished, as it seemed impossible for them to get over the ice to the shore, the waves rising so exceedingly\*. All our hopes of being saved now vanished, and the whole company gave vent to their feelings in general and loud cries and lamentations.— In the evening we lay down to rest, close together, without tent or covering. As it continued to rain heavily the whole of this and the following day and night, the water rushed down upon us in torrents from the summit of the rock. We were completely soaked in wet, and lay in a pool of water. But this was in reality a benefit to us, as we were thus supplied with fresh water.

“ August 27th, the two captains and most of the sailors got ready to try to gain the shore by walking across the ice ; and with great difficulty succeeded in their attempt. We would willingly have gone with them, but having now been two days without tasting any food, we felt ourselves too much enfeebled for such an enterprise. Thus we were left alone on the rock, with the ship's cook, who likewise was unable to follow his comrades. In this dreadful situation we had no hope, but what we derived from the Lord our almighty Saviour. We now saw no other prospect before us, than that of ending our days on

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\* Their fears were fortunately unfounded, as all the sailors, excepting one, succeeded in their efforts to get to land.

this barren rock. The thoughts of lying here unburied, as food for ravens and other birds of prey, which were always hovering around us, troubled us for a short time; but the consolations of our Saviour preponderated, and we soon felt entirely resigned to *his* will."

The captains and sailors, having meanwhile reached the land, immediately dispatched some Greenlanders in search of brother Rudolph and his wife. These Greenlanders, after rowing about the whole day of September the 2nd, without seeing any person on the rock, were on the point of returning, concluding that they had perished. Fortunately, however, sister Rudolph, happening to raise herself, discovered the Greenlanders. From them our missionaries got a little seals'-fat and a few herrings, having been without food for nine days. As they came in their kajaks, and had no other boat with them, brother Rudolph and his wife were obliged to spend another night on the rock, and wait till the evening of the next day, when a skin-boat arrived. In her they embarked, and after enduring several hardships, reached the colony of Julianenhaab in the evening of the 8th, and proceeded to LICHTENAU on the 11th, where they were affectionately welcomed by their fellow missionaries and the whole congregation, who joined them in grateful praises to God for this wonderful preservation of their lives.

Here they remained till the following May, when they again prepared for their voyage to Europe. After a very tedious and difficult passage in a Greenland boat, from LICHTENAU to LICHTENFELS, they left the latter place, on the 13th of September, in one of the Danish ships, and being favoured with a very expeditious and pleasant voyage, arrived in Copenhagen on the 3rd of October.

Little did our brethren in Greenland imagine that the war, which during this period was raging with such violence on the continent of Europe, would extend its ravages to the remote corner of the earth, which they inhabited. But, though they were happily out of the reach of contending armies, yet they experienced some of the fatal effects of the contest. The rupture between Great Britain and Denmark, occasioned a

temporary suspension of the accustomed intercourse between the latter country and her colonies, which are wholly dependant upon Europe for support. This awakened many gloomy apprehensions, both among our brethren and the other colonists; and this fear was considerably increased, as one of the two ships, sent out by the English government in 1808, was lost in the ice, and the provisions, prepared for them in London in 1809, could not be sent, as it was found inconvenient to fit out ships from Great Britain to Greenland. Another misfortune they experienced was the capture of a Danish provision-ship by the British, and thus, only one small vessel arrived that year, the cargo of which was by no means sufficient to supply the many factories on the coast. Our missionaries in NEW-HEBBNHUT and LICHTENFELS thus express themselves on the occasion: "though we have not yet felt absolute want of the necessaries of life, yet we are obliged to measure (as it were) every mouthful we eat, to make our provisions last as long as possible." Their stock of wine was so reduced, that they could but very seldom celebrate the Lord's Supper, which was a great grief to their converts. Another very serious inconvenience was the want of sufficient change of clothing, especially linen, and of tobacco, which is the principal medium of traffic in this country.

This distress was felt most severely at LICHTENAU, as appears from the following extract of a letter, written by the missionary Beck in 1813.

"In 1807 we received the last regular supplies; which were sufficient, in addition to what we had spared in former years, to maintain us for a considerable time; and as we hoped, that the interruption occasioned by the war would not last long, we felt no anxiety, but when both the colonists and our brethren at NEW-HEBBNHUT and LICHTENFELS began to suffer want, we even helped them out of our store to various necessary articles, of which, however, we ourselves afterwards felt the want. In the north there was yet some trade, by which partial relief was obtained, but here nothing could be had from that source. Yet we thanked God, that there still existed the means of supporting life, though we suffered many privations,

such as of beer, coffee, sugar, and wine, and afterwards of butter and salt: we made the latter last as long as possible, by boiling fish in salt water; and though whatever was sent to us in 1810, did not arrive here till 1812, we have to thank our heavenly Father for having given us our daily bread. At last we were the only people that had any tobacco. By this we were enabled to purchase birds and fishes from the Greenlanders, as also furs for our boats and clothing. We had likewise some seed left, and got a small supply of garden-stuff. The Greenlanders brought us scurvy-grass in barter for tobacco. The latter article, however, became at last so scarce that a pound was worth 7s. 6d.\*."

In this distressful situation the colonies continued till the year 1811, when the British government generously afforded every facility to the Danes to supply their Greenland factories, by permitting Danish provision-ships, furnished with a proper license, to sail thither. By this humane measure, on the part of England, they were relieved from immediate distress, and all anxiety respecting the future.

While this regulation continued in force, one of our missionaries, John Conrad Kleinschmidt, whose wife had entered into the joy of her Lord, after a residence of nearly nineteen years in Greenland, resolved to bring his five children to Europe, and for this purpose set sail in the ship *Freden*, bound for Leith in Scotland. They left NEW-HERRNHUT on September 2nd, 1812, but owing to unfavourable weather, did not lose sight of the coast till the 25th. The wind was fair, and they had the prospect of a speedy and pleasant voyage, when suddenly there arose from the north-west a most tremendous storm, which raged with unabating fury for about three days and two nights. In the evening of the 29th, when it was at its height, accompanied with thunder and lightning, a flash struck the ship. Two sailors were thrown down; one of whom instantly expired. The cap-

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Per. Acct. Vol. vi. p. 196. In some of the colonies the distress was still greater. The colonists were reduced to the necessity of eating small herrings, muscles, and even sea-weeds; many of them therefore left the country, Per. Acct. Vol. v. p. 195.

tain and all on board were filled with the utmost consternation, and the former exclaimed: "We are all lost, and there is no other ship near to save us." Fortunately, however, it was soon discovered, that the ship had not taken fire, nor sustained any very serious damage. In the sequel they encountered several severe gales and contrary winds, which so prolonged the voyage that they were put on short allowance of water, which was peculiarly trying to the children. This privation, however, lasted only five days, as they came in sight of the Scottish coast on the 8th of October, and two days after cast anchor in Leith Roads. During their stay there, one of brother Kleinschmidt's daughters, a child only three years old, died after a short illness. On this, as well as on every other occasion, he and his company experienced the most affectionate attention from many worthy gentlemen at Leith and Edinburgh, who proved themselves sincere and generous friends to our missions.\*

During his absence a most tragical event occurred in the congregation, which he had hitherto served in the gospel. A party of Christian Greenlanders, having celebrated Christmas at the settlement, were returning to one of the out-places, where they resided by an order of government, intended to promote the interests of trade. They set out in their skin-boat, in January 1813, when the cold was so intense, that the thermometer stood twelve degrees below Reaumur's freezing point. They had soon to encounter the floating ice, by which their boat was crushed to pieces. They however escaped upon a large field of ice, and drove about for twenty four hours, when during the night a violent storm arose from the north, which carried them out to sea. Here they must all have perished, as nothing more was heard of them. They were seventeen in number, old and young, and all baptised members of the congregation at LICHTENAU.

After spending the winter at Fulnek in Yorkshire, and having again married, brother Kleinschmidt and his wife, in company of the missionary Gorke\* and his wife and their infant

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\* For a circumstantial account of this voyage, see *Per. Acct.* Vol. v. p. 334, 341.

† Brother Gorke had lived in Greenland before, but left it seven years ago

daughter, and of brother Mueller and sister Goll, sailed from Leith in the Danish ship *Hualfsken* for Greenland. They left Scotland on May 24th, 1813 and, after a safe and expeditious voyage of five weeks, arrived at Godhaven in Diskobay, the captain, contrary to his engagement, refusing to land them near any of the mission settlements. This ungenerous conduct on his part was the more reprehensible, as there was every facility of landing them either at LICHTENFELS or NEW-HERENHUT. Even the mate and sailors remonstrated with him on the cruelty of his behaviour; but to no purpose, for he continued his course day and night, and the only reply he made was: "never mind, they have the summer before them." The consequence was, that they had to travel back in a boat, coasting it all the way, six hundred miles to NEW HERENHUT, and ninety more to LICHTENFELS, and Brother Kleinschmidt and his wife, after reaching NEW-HERENHUT, had still to perform a voyage of five hundred miles, before they arrived at LICHTENAU, their place of residence. But through the Lord's mercy they all got home before winter set in, though brother Kleinschmidt's party were four months in completing their voyage along this rocky and dangerous coast\*. All the toils and perils of their journey were quickly forgotten, when they found themselves again in the midst of their brethren and sisters, and beheld the grace of God, which prevailed in the Greenland congregation.

The affairs of the mission were now again brought into their regular course. Each of the three settlements was provided with the requisite number of missionaries, and every anxious apprehension respecting their support was removed, in consequence of the regular intercourse re-opened with Europe. Hereby our brethren were animated to renewed exertions in promoting the cause of God, and the best interests of their fellow-men, in these dreary regions.

Their time and attention were particularly occupied in devising means for enlarging the acquaintance of the natives with

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to pay a visit to Europe, where he had been thus long detained in consequence of the war. The rest were new missionaries.

† Per. Acct. Vol. vi. p. 199.

the doctrines of the Bible. A version of the Harmony of the Four Gospels, together with select portions of the prophecies of Isaiah had been in use among them for several years. To add to their sources of information on scripture-truths, brother Gorke, about this time, translated a small work, entitled, *Jesus, the Friend of Children*, being a short compendium of the Bible, and recommended by a Society of pious ministers in Denmark, for distribution among the Greenlanders. But their chief concern was to furnish them with a good and correct translation of the New Testament; to which they were greatly encouraged by the kind offer of both the British and Foreign and the Edinburgh Bible Societies, to get the work printed for them. The execution of this important undertaking was committed to brother Kleinschmidt, who had obtained great proficiency in the language by his long residence in the country. His many other avocations, however, and his desire that the manuscript should be previously revised by the other missionaries, who possessed a competent knowledge of the language, in some measure, retarded its progress; but this temporary delay eventually proved a real benefit, as it tended to render the version more correct.

According to the latest intelligence received from Greenland, and which brings down the history of this mission to the spring of 1817, it appears, that amidst the imperfections and occasional deviations of individual members of the congregation, the work of God was prospering in all the three settlements, and the word of the cross displaying its converting and transforming power in old and young. The peace of God, unity of spirit, and a determination to spend their lives for the Lord Jesus Christ, prevailed among our missionaries; and they lived in habits of cordial love and friendship with the gentlemen of the Danish factories and all the colonists.

In November 1816 they had the joy to baptize an adult heathen at NEW-HEERENHUT, a circumstance which had not occurred in that settlement for sixteen years, and on this account made a deeper and more solemn impression on all who witnessed this sacred transaction. In the same place the missionary, Henry Menzel, entered into the joy of his Lord, on

the 21st of October, 1816. He had laboured thirty-three years with zeal and faithfulness in the Greenland mission.

Since the commencement of this mission a very remarkable difference has taken place in the state of the country, in a moral point of view. In the neighbourhood of NEW-HERRNUT and LICHTENFELS scarce any heathen reside, most of the inhabitants having been baptized either by the Danish missionaries or our brethren, and acquired a general knowledge of the truths of Christianity. These settlements, therefore, may be considered as forming two Christian congregations, the children and youths of which are baptized in infancy, and from their earliest years instructed in the doctrines of the gospel, and upon giving sufficient evidence of the sincerity of their profession, admitted to all the ordinances and privileges of the Church. And our missionaries have had the pleasure of finding that hardly any of their young people, have entirely forsaken the fellowship of the faithful; for, though they might for a season remain spiritually dead, they have sooner or later been awakend by the Spirit of God, to a sense of their lost condition by nature and their need of a Saviour, and by his grace been taught to deny ungodliness and worldly lusts, and to live soberly, righteously, and godly in this present world. Thus has God's promise to his Church been verified also in this country: "*Instead of thy fathers shall be thy children.*"

In LICHTENAU the case is in some degree different. Here there is still a large field for missionary labours, as a very considerable number of heathen still reside in that neighbourhood. To them our brethren are daily proclaiming the unsearchable riches of Christ. Many pagans also visit them and behave with civility. For the most part indeed they come only to be supplied with the necessaries of life; now and then, however, a desire is excited for the bread of life, and the seed of the gospel falls on good ground, where it produces the fruits of "repentance towards God, and faith in our Lord Jesus Christ." Thus some heathen are annually added to the Church by baptism.

The long intercourse of the natives with Europeans, added to the more potent influence of the gospel, has effected the



most pleasing and striking change in their manners and general deportment. Along the whole extent of the western coast the barbarities of savage life, and the enormities ever attending paganism, where it is dominant, are now rarely to be met with ; and the state of this country, compared with what it was 80, or but 50, years ago, may be called civilized. The nature and climate of this dreary region, no less than the methods by which the natives must procure their subsistence, necessarily preclude the introduction of most of the useful arts of civilized society. They can neither till the land nor engage in manufactures. The former is denied them by the sterility of the rocks they inhabit, and the rigours of a polar sky ; and the latter, with very few exceptions, are for the same reasons rendered useless. A Greenlander can neither live in the European manner, nor wear European clothing. But it may be said with truth, that the converted Greenlanders, by the habits of industry, which they have acquired since the introduction of the gospel among them, by their contentment amidst many privations and hardships, and by the charity of the more affluent of their needy brethren, strikingly exemplify the doctrine of the great Apostle of the Gentiles, that in every circumstance of life and in every nation, *godliness is great gain, having the promise of the life that now is, and of that which is to come.*

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## CHAP. II.

### MISSION IN LABRADOR.

LABRADOR lies on the east side of Hudson's bay, extending from latitude  $57^{\circ}$  to  $60^{\circ}$  north. Although this latitude is not as high by several degrees as that of Greenland, yet the cold here is far more intense.\* During the winter Fahrenheit's thermometer often falls thirty or more degrees below the 0; and though the houses of the missionaries are heated by large cast-iron stoves, the windows and walls are all the winter covered with ice, and the bed-clothes freeze to the walls. Rum freezes in the air like water, and rectified spirits soon become thick like oil. From December to June the sea is so completely frozen over, that no open water is to be seen. Some of the missionaries venturing once, during the month of February, to make a journey from Nain to some Esquimaux, living at the distance of forty miles, endured extreme hardships from the cold. Though wrapped in furs, yet their eyelids froze together in such a manner that they were continually obliged to pull them asunder, and by constant rubbing prevent them from closing. One of them returned with a pain in his side; another with his hands frozen and swelled like a bladder; and it was only through God's mercy that their lives were preserved. It is no uncommon case in winter for some of the natives to be found frozen to death. The few summer months, on the other hand, are so much the hotter, the thermometer sometimes rising to the eighty sixth degree of Fahrenheit. Swarms of musketoes infest the air, whose sting frequently causes painful swellings.

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\* The reason assigned for this is, that the north-west wind, which is the severest, comes over an arm of the sea to our settlements in Greenland, by which means the cold is lessened: on the contrary this severe wind, which prevails the greater part of winter in Labrador, comes to that coast over an immense frozen continent. *Brief Account of Mission among Esquimaux Indians.*

The coast is but thinly inhabited ; and the Esquimaux differ little in their general manners and mode of living from the Greenlanders, of whose language theirs is only a dialect. In summer they live in tents constructed like those in Greenland, but their winter habitations are built in a very different manner. For this purpose they choose a large drift of snow, dig an oval hole in it, in size corresponding with the dimensions of the intended house. They then cut pieces of snow, three feet long, two in breadth, and one foot thick. These they place in the form of an arch over the hole. Instead of a window, they cut an aperture in the arch, in which they fix a slab of ice, and which admits sufficient light. The entrance into the dwelling is long, winding and very low, and a slab of frozen snow answers the purpose of a door. In the middle of the house they leave an elevation of about twenty inches high, which they cover with skins, and this serves them for a place to rest and to sleep on. Since our missionaries have settled in the country the natives have by degrees built winter-houses for themselves, constructed after the manner of those in Greenland, described in page 6.

For the purposes of travelling they make use of a sledge drawn by a species of dogâ, in shape resembling a wolf. They never bark, but howl very disagreeably. They are kept by the Esquimaux, in greater or smaller packs, according to the wealth of the proprietor. They quietly submit to be harnessed, and are treated with no great mercy by the heathen, who make them do hard duty for but a scanty allowance of food. This consists chiefly of offals, old skins, entrails, &c. ; or should their owner not be provided with these articles, they must provide for themselves, by seeking muscles or dead fishes. When pinched with hunger they devour almost any thing; and on a journey it is necessary to secure the harness during the night, for otherwise the dogs would eat it, and thus render it impossible to proceed. In the evening, after being unharnessed, they are left to burrow in the snow wherever they please. They are sure of returning at the call of the driver in the morning as they then receive some food. In putting them to the sledge they are never suffered to go abreast, but are tied by separate thongs of une-

qual lengths to a horizontal bar on the forepart of the sledge ; an old dog leads the way, running ten or twenty paces a-head, directed by the driver's whip, which is often twenty-four feet long, and can be well managed only by an expert Esquimau. The other dogs follow like a flock of sheep ; if one of them receives a lash, he generally bites his neighbour, and the bite goes round. Their strength and speed, even without food, are astonishing. The Esquimaux, however, find it more convenient to go from place to place in their boats, when the sea is open, being then much less exposed to the cold, than when crossing the ice in their sledges. Their journeys, therefore, are more frequent in summer than in winter.

In their pagan state the Esquimaux appear rather more depraved than the Greenlanders. Their ideas relative to God, and religious and moral subjects, are as confined as those of the latter ; and in their superstitious notions and practices there is no discernible difference between the two nations.

Their kajaks, skin-boats and other implements are of the same construction with those of the Greenlanders.

The missionary settlements lie on the eastern coast.

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THE disposition, on the part of the Brethren to attempt the conversion of the Esquimaux, originated with our missionaries in Greenland, who were led to conjecture, that the Esquimaux were a branch of the Greenland nation. Matthew Stach, in particular, entered with great ardour into this scheme, and for that purpose applied, in the year 1752, to the Hudson's-bay Company for permission to preach the gospel to the Indians belonging to their factories : but no attention was at that time paid to his application. In consequence of this failure some of our Brethren in London, joined by several well disposed merchants, fitted out a vessel to trade on the coast of Labrador, four Brethren having declared themselves willing to settle there, for the purpose of learning the language and preaching the gospel to the natives. One Christian Erhard offered to go with the vessel. In the capacity of mate on board a Dutch ship, he had been several voyages to Davies' Straits on the whale

fishery, and had visited at New-herrnhut, where he had learned a little Greenlandic, and was now residing in the Brethren's settlement at Zeist in Holland.

This company sailed from London on the 17th of May 1752, and on the last day of July entered a fine bay on the coast of Labrador, which, in honour to one of the owners of the ship, is still called *Nisbet's Haven*. Here they resolved to settle, and for this purpose erected a house, the frame and materials of which they brought with them. They called the place *HOPEDALE*. A few weeks after Erhard sailed farther to the north, for the purpose of trade. He could make himself tolerably understood by the Esquimaux; and as they were afraid to come on board, on account of the guns, he and five of the crew went, in an unarmed boat, into a bay between the islands. Here they were probably all murdered by the savages. As the captain had not another boat, no search could be made for them at that time; but on the return of the ship the next season, some of their remains were found, with evident marks of their having been murdered. This melancholy event obliged the captain to represent to those four brethren, who had come out as missionaries, that having lost six of his men, he could not return to Europe, unless they would consent to go with him, and assist in working the ship. Though they deeply regretted the necessity, yet under existing circumstances, they could not refuse his request. The ship sailed again to the coast the following year; and the house was found still standing, but it was not deemed expedient to renew the mission at that time.

The undertaking, however, though relinquished for a few years, was never lost sight of. Jens Haven, a missionary in Greenland and acquainted with the language of that country, who, before he went thither in 1758, had cherished an ardent desire for the conversion of the Esquimaux, was induced again to offer his services for this enterprise. His offer being accepted by the directors of the missions, he came to England in 1764. After many fruitless attempts to attain his object, he was at length recommended to the governor of Newfoundland, Sir Hugh Palliser, who received him with great kindness and of-

ferred him a passage on board his own ship. This, however, was declined by Haven, who only requested a letter of recommendation to the governor of St. John's. This being readily complied with, he went with the first ship sailing for that colony. The governor immediately on his arrival issued a proclamation in his favour, stating the object of his voyage to Labrador, and ordering that every assistance should be given him.\* After various delays and vexations, he at length landed on the coast of Labrador, at Quirpont, where he arrived just in time to prevent a murderous plot. Some people had collected there, and were holding a council for the purpose of destroying the Esquimaux. He went boldly up to them, shewed the governor's proclamation, and, though not without difficulty, succeeded in diverting them from their barbarous design.

His first interview with the natives afforded him the liveliest joy, as appears from his own narrative. "September 4th 1764," saith he, "was the welcome day, when I saw an Exquimau arrive in the harbour. I ran to meet him, addressed him in the most friendly manner in the Greenlandic language; and to my inexpressible joy found he understood me. I desired him to return, and bring four of the chiefs of his tribe with him, to which he readily consented. Meanwhile I put on my Greenlandic dress, and met them on the beach, inviting them to come on shore. They cried, 'Here is an *Innuït* (a countryman of ours.)' I answered, 'I am your countryman and friend.' They seemed astonished, behaved very quietly, and I continued the conversation for a long time. At length they desired me to accompany them to an island, about an hour's row from the shore, adding that there I should find their wives and children, who would receive me as a friend. This appeared rather a hazardous undertaking, but conceiving it to be of essential service to

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\* This proclamation contains the following sentence, "Hitherto the Esquimaux have been considered in no other light than as thieves and murderers, but as Mr. Haven has formed the laudable plan of not only uniting these people with the English nation but also of instructing them in the Christian religion; I require, by virtue of the power delegated to me, that all men, whomsoever it may concern, lend him all the assistance in their power."

*Brief Account of Mission among Esquimaux Indians.*

the missionary cause, that I should venture my life amongst them and endeavour to become better acquainted with their nation, I confidently turned to the Lord in prayer, and thought within myself, 'I will go with them in *thy* name; if they kill me, my work on earth will be done, and I shall live with *thee*, but if they spare my life, I shall firmly believe it to be *thy* will that they should hear and embrace the gospel.' I accordingly went, and as soon as we arrived there, all set up a shout, *our friend is come*. They carried me on shore and beset me so closely on all sides, that I could neither stir nor turn. Having prevailed on them to place themselves in rows before me, I explained to them my object in coming to visit them, promising, that if they were willing to be taught, I would return next spring with more of my brethren, build a house on their land, and daily discourse with them of the way to life and happiness.\*"

Having had much agreeable conversation with them, Haven returned to Quirpoint, where he stayed about a fortnight, and several times preached to the crew of the vessel. On his arrival at Newfoundland, Sir H. Palliser and the Board of trade, expressed their entire approbation of his proceedings, and their wish soon to see a mission established there. Haven, therefore, made a second voyage to that country the ensuing year, accompanied by Christian Laurence Drachart, formerly one of the Danish missionaries in Greenland, and two other brethren. They penetrated farther into the interior; and on their return to the English ships, met with several hundred Esquimaux, to whom they preached the gospel, not without apparent impression. Greatly, however, as the formation of a mission in this country was desired, not only by the Brethren, but also by several persons of rank in England; various difficulties for some years impeded its establishment.

During this season of suspense some Esquimaux came, in 1768, to Chateau bay and renewed their practices of robbing and murdering. They were attacked by a party of English;

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\* Per. Acct. Vol. ii. p. 105.


some were killed, others made prisoners and carried to Newfoundland. Three of the latter, a woman and her two sons, the one about thirteen and the other six years of age, were brought to England. The elder of these two boys, whose name was *Karpik*, was presented by Sir, H. Palliser to the Brethren's Society for the Furtherance of the Gospel among the Heathen. He possessed great vivacity, quickness of apprehension and docility, and, though he was at times rather sullen and obstinate, showed in general many good qualities. Being placed in the Brethren's School at Fulnek in Yorkshire, he was taught reading and writing, in which he attained considerable proficiency. The instructions he received on religious subjects likewise made a salutary impression on his mind; he was often greatly affected, and would ask many pertinent questions. Here he was taken ill with the small-pox. During this sickness he was, according to his earnest request, made partaker of holy baptism. The ceremony was performed in the Esquimaux language by one of the missionaries, then waiting to proceed to Labrador. Soon after, in the year 1769, he departed this life, calling on the name of the Lord. Our Brethren greatly regretted this event, because it disappointed their hopes of seeing this youth become a useful servant of Jesus among his countrymen.

His mother, *Mikak*, was treated with great kindness in England, and received many favours from some of the royal family and other persons of distinction. Her joy was great at meeting with the missionary Haven, as he could converse with her in her native tongue. She importuned him to return and help her poor countrymen, whom she described as being in the most ruinous condition. Her repeated applications to those persons in power, by whom she was noticed, had considerable influence in forwarding the projected mission. The consequence was, that, on the report of the Board of Trade to the Privy Council, a resolution was taken in favour of the establishment of a mission in Labrador; and on the eighth of May, 1769, an order in council was issued to this effect: "That the land in Esquimaux bay, desired by the *Unitas Fratrum* should be granted



to them and their Society for the Furtherance of the Gospel among the Heathen; and they be protected in their laudable undertaking."

Every facility being thus offered by government for establishing a mission on this coast, some of our brethren in London and other places formed a company, in order to fit out a ship, to convey the missionaries to Labrador, and make an annual voyage thither for the purpose of supplying them with provisions, and carrying on a trade with the natives. They purchased a brig of about a hundred and twenty tons burden. In her the three missionaries, Jens Haven, Lawrence Drachart and Stephen Jensen sailed to Labrador in 1770, merely for the purpose of exploring the coast, and fixing on a proper spot where to build. They landed on an island, where they met with a number of Esquimaux, who behaved with great insolence, till awed by the report of the ship's guns. A couple of days after, they again ventured to go on shore, met the natives in a friendly manner, and preached the gospel to them. In sailing from the island to the main land, though but a distance of a few miles, having to pass between a number of islets and concealed rocks along an unknown coast without chart or pilot, they were exposed to great danger; but were mercifully preserved, and safely reached a harbour on the eastern extremity of the continent, to which they gave the name of *Unity Harbour*. Having discovered a piece of land near this harbour, suitable for a missionary settlement, they found the Esquimaux not only willing to sell it to them, but very desirous that a company of Brethren might come and take possession of it. Filled with gratitude to the Lord, who had so graciously prospered their enterprise, they returned to England, to spend the winter in making the needful preparations for carrying their design into full effect. During this interval, brother Haven married, and the offer of several other brethren, besides those mentioned above, to join the mission, was accepted with humble thanks to the Lord for inclining so many of his people, to sacrifice all the comforts of civilised society, and venture themselves among savages, where, besides a thousand other hardships, they might be hourly



exposed to perish in their very attempts to humanize these wretched barbarians, and teach them the knowledge of God our Saviour. The whole company consisted of three married couples, a widower and seven single brethren, in all fourteen persons; some of whom went out as assistants to the mission for managing its external concerns. In this company was also a physician. Having in a solemn meeting at the Brethren's chapel in Fetter-lane been commended to the grace of God, they left London on the 8th of May, 1771, and sailed in the brig, Amity, for Labrador, touching at St. John's in Newfoundland. Their voyage was tedious; and the latter part of it rendered hazardous, as frequent storms obliged them to run into unknown bays, where they were often environed with large fields and mountains of ice. They however reached the coast in safety on the 9th of August.

The next day they went on shore at the place chosen by Haven the preceding year, and immediately commenced erecting their house, the entire frame of which, together with bricks and every other requisite they had brought with them from England; and towards the end of September the building was so far completed, that they could inhabit two rooms. They surrounded it with pallisades; for as one of them writes\* "*their situation was critical, it was as if each with one of his hands wrought in the work and with the other held a weapon*;" for they found it needful to be constantly upon their guard against a nation to whom robbery and murder had become habitual. These apprehensions were, however, at this time needless, for they soon discovered a striking difference in the disposition of the natives now, and at their first visit to them. Formerly they were bold and impudent, looked upon the Europeans as *dogs*, and called them *barbarians* while they styled themselves *men*; but now they were quiet and modest, expressed their desire to hear the *Good News*, and of their own accord shewed that they had no deadly weapons secreted either in their clothes or kajaks.

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\* Brief Account, &c.

The place our missionaries chose for their habitation, and to which they gave the name of NAIN, is so situated, that both the *Nuenguak* tribe, who reside in the islands, and the other Esquimaux, who usually travel from the South to the North, can pass through the settlement.

The missionaries improved every opportunity for preaching to the natives, especially brother Drachart, who was the greatest proficient in the language, and devoted himself wholly to this work. The Esquimaux generally listened to it with silence and expressed their astonishment. And though a few treated it with contempt, yet in some instances there was good reason to hope, that the seed of the Word would not remain wholly unproductive. Notwithstanding the excessive cold in winter, some of them ventured to cross the ice and snow in order to visit the heathen, who entertained them very hospitably, and they, in their turn, in great numbers visited at the mission-settlement.

This friendly intercourse between the missionaries and the natives was attended at least with this good effect, that the latter gained such confidence towards our brethren, that they asked their advice in all difficult cases, and even chose them as arbitrators in their disputes, forming a resolution among themselves, in future to refer all their differences to the missionaries, and submit to their decision. The fame of the settlement and its inhabitants spread far into the country, as the following occurrence will serve to show. The Rev. P. E. Layritz agreeably to the wish of the directors of the missions undertook a visitation to this new establishment, in 1778. As the sloop, in which he and his company were, was approaching the southern side of the coast near Camp island, several of the inhabitants met them in their boats in the most friendly and peaceable manner, though the tribe, occupying this part of the country, was formerly considered the most savage, thievish and murderous. They invited brother Layritz and his company to come on shore, listened with eager attention to his discourse, which was interpreted by the missionary Beck, and promised to visit NAIN, in order to hear more of these good words. Some of

them had been there last winter, and they now declared that brother Drachart had told them the very same words.

During this visitation Lieutenant Curtis was sent by the governor of Newfoundland to survey the coast, and to inquire into the situation of our brethren. At his desire the heads of families, about thirty in number, were convened, and informed that the governor had given orders, that all who were guilty of murdering or stealing, should in future be punished with death, and that none of them should go to the South, without acquainting the missionaries with it, and obtaining a certificate from them. To these orders they promised willing obedience; and added: "It is right that a murderer, or thief, be punished with death, for he deserves it; but since we have heard the gospel of Jesus, we have neither murdered nor stolen, and we will not do it any more in future\*."

The missionaries observed with pleasure, that the confidence and attachment of the Esquimaux to them increased more and more. When they undertook a journey they committed their most valuable commodities to their care, and even left their wives and children under their guardianship. This induced our brethren to build a store-house for them, where they might lay up provisions against the winter, and thus be able to reside with them during that season, and daily hear the Word of God.

Although at the close of the second year of their residence among them, they could not discover clear evidences of real conversion in any of them, so as to render them proper subjects for baptism; yet appearances even then encouraged pleasing hopes for the future. Many of those, dwelling near NAIN, were often much affected during the sermon, and expressed profound awe and reverence for the name of Jesus; but it was difficult to convince them of the evil of sin, and the innate depravity of the heart. Their moral habits, however, were considerably ameliorated. Formerly no European would have ventured to be alone with the Esquimaux, or spend a night with them on any consideration; but now the missionaries often passed several days and nights successively with them, preached the

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\* Brief Account, &c.

gospel, boldly reprov'd them, and even silenced the *Angekoks*, or sorcerers, while performing their superstitious rites and incantations. These of course employed all their diabolical arts to prevent their countrymen from receiving the gospel.

This rendered the following occurrence the more remarkable. A man, whose name was Anauke, departed this life, calling on the name of Jesus. The first time the missionaries saw him at Chateau-bay, four years before, he had all the appearance of a thief and murderer; but, after hearing the gospel several times, so striking a change took place in him, that his very features lost their ferocity. In 1772 he pitched his tent at NAIN, and stayed there till November, when he removed to his winter house; but some time after returned on foot,\* with no other view than to hear the gospel. As it is impossible to travel during the first months of winter, they heard nothing of Anauke till his wife came to the settlement in February, and related, "that when her husband fell sick in December, he prayed earnestly to the Saviour, and not only shewed no fear of death, but even declared, that he had no wish to live any longer in this world, but would rather go to his Saviour." When his wife, observing his end to be approaching, began to howl and cry, according to the custom of the heathen, exclaiming, "O my dear husband, wilt thou leave me and thy two children?" he calmly replied, "Weep not, I go to the Saviour, who loves men so much." He would not suffer an *angekok* to come near him during his sickness. This is the more striking, as he had no Christian friend at hand to instruct him, and none were present, whom he might wish to please by speaking of Jesus. The *angekok* himself related it to the missionary with considerable displeasure. The deceased was ever after known among the natives by the appellation of *The man whom the Saviour took to himself*†.

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\*This is a strong evidence of his eagerness to hear the gospel, as the Esquimaux are not accustomed to travel on foot; in summer they go in their boats, and in winter on sledges.

† These sorcerers are also the physicians of the Esquimaux, and make use of certain spells and incantations for the recovery of their patients.

‡ Brief Account, &c.

This occurrence encouraged the missionaries to select from among their hearers such as appeared the most seriously impressed with divine truths, and to form them into a class of Catechumens, in order to give them more particular instruction, and to prepare them for holy baptism. They also resolved to erect a proper chapel, as the room in their house, hitherto used for their meetings of worship, was not sufficiently large to accommodate their hearers, which occasionally amounted to some hundreds.

They likewise began to build boats, and make various implements and utensils for the Esquimaux, hoping thereby to introduce a degree of civilization among them, to prevent their going to the south to steal boats, and also to lessen the expenses of the mission, by bartering these articles to the natives for whalebone and blubber.

In the year 1774 four of the missionaries undertook a voyage for the purpose of exploring the coast to the north of NAIN. This expedition was attended with most melancholy consequences. After enduring incredible disasters and escaping many imminent dangers, they suffered shipwreck on their return, the vessel being driven on a rock, where she remained fixed, and finally broke to pieces. After a most anxious night, they early the next morning betook themselves to the boat. This was likewise dashed against the rocks. Two of them, the brethren Brasen and Lehman, lost their lives; the other two, Haven and Lister, together with the sailors, saved themselves by swimming, and reached a barren rock. Here they suffered incredibly from hunger and excessive cold, and must inevitably have perished, had they not found it practicable to draw the boat on the rock, and so far to repair the damage she had sustained as, on the fourth day after their shipwreck, to venture again into her. The wind was in their favour; and they were providentially observed by an Esquimaux in his kajak, who towed them into the harbour of NAIN.

Unappalled by this calamity, Haven and Lister, accompanied by brother Beck, the following spring ventured on another reconnoitering voyage along the south coast, penetrated

as far as Old Hopedale; and after some search found a place near Avertok, more eligible for a missionary settlement than any yet discovered.

But, before the directors of our missions could consider the expediency of occupying this station, they had commissioned brother Haven to begin a new settlement at OKKAK, about one hundred and fifty miles to the north of NAIN. Accompanied by brother Stephen Jensen, he proceeded thither in the summer of 1775. They purchased the land from the Esquimaux, fixed the boundaries of it, and the following year established themselves in this place. They immediately began to preach the gospel to the heathen in the neighbourhood, and though the progress of conversion here as well as at NAIN was but slow, yet it was sufficient to preserve the zeal and animate the hope of the missionaries. In 1781 there belonged to the congregation at OKKAK thirty eight baptized Esquimaux, and about ten catechumens.

In the year 1782 two of the missionaries experienced a very striking preservation of their lives.

Early on March the 11th the brethren Liebisch and Turner left NAIN to go to OKKAK, a journey of one hundred and fifty miles. They travelled in a sledge drawn by dogs, and another sledge with Esquimaux joined them, the whole party consisting of five men, one woman and a child. Every thing seemed to favour the undertaking; the weather was fine and remarkably serene, and the track over the frozen sea was in the best order, so that they travelled at the rate of six or seven miles an hour. All therefore were in good spirits, hoping to reach OKKAK in two or three days. Having passed the islands in the bay, they kept at a considerable distance from the shore, both to gain the smoothest part of the ice, and to avoid the high and rocky promontory of Kiglapeit. About eight o'clock they met a sledge with Esquimaux driving towards the land; who obscurely intimated that it might be well not to proceed. But as our missionaries saw no reason for it, they paid no regard to these hints, and went on. In a while, however, their own Esquimaux remarked, that there was a swell under the ice.

It was then hardly perceptible, except on applying the ear close to the ice, when a hollow, grating and roaring noise was heard, as if ascending from the abyss. The weather remained clear, except towards the east, where a bank of light clouds interspersed with some dark streaks appeared. But as the wind blew hard from the northwest, no sudden change of weather was expected. The sun had now reached his height, and there was as yet little or no alteration in the appearance of the sky. But the motion of the sea under the ice had grown so perceptible as rather to alarm the travellers, and they began to think it prudent to keep closer to the shore. The ice in many places had fissures and cracks, some of which formed chasms of one or two feet wide, but as they are not uncommon even in the best state, and the dogs easily leap over them, the sledge following without danger, they are terrible only to new comers.

As soon as the sun declined, the wind increased and rose to a storm, the bank of clouds from the east began to ascend, and the dark streaks put themselves in motion against the wind. The snow was driven about by partial whirlwinds, both on the ice and from off the peaks of the high mountains, and filled the air. At the same time the swell had increased so much, that its effects upon the ice became very extraordinary and alarming. The sledges, instead of gliding along smoothly upon an even surface, sometimes ran with violence after the dogs, and shortly after seemed with difficulty to ascend the rising hill, as the elasticity of the vast body of ice of many leagues square, and in some places three or four yards in thickness, supported by a troubled sea, occasioned an undulatory motion, not unlike that of a sheet of paper accommodating itself to the surface of a rippling stream. Noises caused by the bursting of the ice at a distance, and resembling the report of cannon, were now likewise heard in many directions.

The Esquimaux, therefore, drove with all haste towards the shore, intending to take up their night-quarters on the south side of the Nirak. But, as it plainly appeared the ice would break and disperse in the open sea, Mark, (who drove the sledge of the missionaries) advised to push forward to the north



of the Nirak, from whence he hoped the track to OKKAK might still remain entire. To this proposal the company agreed, but when the sledges approached the coast the prospect before them was truly terrific. The ice, having broken loose from the rocks, was forced up and down, grinding and breaking into a thousand pieces against the precipices, with a tremendous noise, which, added to the raging of the wind, and the snow driving about in the air, nearly deprived the travellers of the power of hearing or seeing any thing distinctly.

To make the land at any risk was now the only hope left, but it was with the utmost difficulty the affrighted dogs could be forced forward, the whole body of the ice sinking frequently below the rocks, then rising above them. As the only moment to land was that when the ice gained the level of the coast, the attempt was extremely nice and hazardous. However, by God's mercy, it succeeded; both sledges gained the shore, and were drawn up the beach, though with much difficulty.

The travellers had hardly time to reflect with gratitude to God on their safety, when that part of the ice, from which they had just now made good their landing, burst asunder, and the water, forcing itself from below, covered and precipitated it into the sea. In an instant, as if by a signal given, the whole mass of ice, extending for several miles from the coast, and as far as the eye could reach, burst, and was overwhelmed by the rolling waves. The sight was tremendous and awfully grand, the large fields of ice, raising themselves out of the water, striking against each other, and plunging into the deep, with a violence not to be described, and a noise like the discharge of innumerable batteries of heavy guns. The darkness of the night, the roaring of the wind and sea, and the dashing of the waves and ice against the rocks, filled the travellers with sensations of awe and horror, and almost deprived them of the power of utterance. They stood overwhelmed with astonishment at their miraculous escape, and even the heathen Esquimaux expressed gratitude to God for their deliverance.

The Esquimaux now began to build a snow-house, about thirty paces from the beach, but before they had finished their

work, the waves reached the place where the sledges were secured, and they were with difficulty saved from being washed into the sea.

About nine o'clock all of them crept into the snow-house, thanking God for this place of refuge ; for the wind was piercingly cold, and so violent, that it required great strength to stand against it.

Before they entered this habitation they could not help once more turning their eyes to the sea, which was now free from ice. They beheld with horror, mingled with gratitude for their safety, the enormous waves driving furiously before the wind, like huge castles, and approaching the shore, where, with dreadful noise, they dashed against the rocks, foaming and filling the air with spray. The whole company now got their supper, and having sung an evening hymn in the Esquimaux language, about ten o'clock lay down to rest. The Esquimaux were soon fast asleep, but brother Liebisch could not get any rest, partly on account of the dreadful-roaring of the wind, and partly owing to a sore throat, which gave him much pain.

The wakefulness of the missionary proved the deliverance of the whole party from sudden destruction. About two o'clock in the morning brother Liebisch perceived some salt water dropping from the roof of the snow-house upon his lips. On a sudden a tremendous surf broke close to the house, discharging a quantity of water into it ; a second soon followed, and carried away the slab of snow placed as a door before the entrance. The missionaries having roused the sleeping Esquimaux, they instantly set to work. One of them with a knife cut a passage through the side of the house, and each seizing some part of the baggage, threw it out on a higher part of the beach ; brother Turner assisting them. Brother Liebisch and the woman and child fled to a neighbouring eminence. The latter were wrapped up by the Esquimaux in a large skin, and the former took shelter behind a rock, for it was impossible to stand against the wind, snow and sleet. Scarcely had the company retreated, when an enormous wave carried away their now forsaken habitation.

They thus found themselves a second time delivered from

the most imminent danger of death; but the remaining part of the night, before the Esquimaux could seek and find another and safer place for a snow-house, were hours of great distress. Before the day dawned the Esquimaux cut a hole in a large drift of snow, to serve as a shelter to the woman and child and the two missionaries. Brother Liebisch, however, owing to the pain in his throat, could not bear the closeness of the air, and was obliged to sit down at the entrance, being covered with skins, to guard him against the cold.

As soon as it was light they built another snow-house, and, miserable as such an accommodation must be, they were glad and thankful to creep into it.

The missionaries had taken but a small stock of provisions with them, merely sufficient for the short journey to OKKAK. Joel, his wife and child, and Kassigiak the sorcerer had nothing. They were obliged therefore, to divide the small stock into daily portions, especially as there appeared no hopes of soon quitting this place or reaching any dwellings. Only two ways were left for this purpose, either to attempt the land passage across the wild and unfrequented mountain of Kiglapeit, or wait for a new ice-track over the sea, which it might require much time to form. They therefore resolved, to serve out no more than a biscuit and a half per day to each. The missionaries remained in the snow-house, and every day endeavoured to boil so much water over their lamps, as might supply them with two cups of coffee a-piece. Through mercy they were preserved in good health, and quite unexpectedly brother Leibisch recovered of his sore throat on the first day. The Esquimaux also kept up their spirits, and even Kassigiak, though a wild heathen, declared that it was proper to be thankful that they were still alive; adding, that if they had remained a little longer on the ice yesterday, all their bones would have been broken in a short time.

Towards noon of the 13th, the weather cleared up, and the sea was seen as far as the eye could reach, quite clear and free from ice. Mark and Joel went up the hill to reconnoitre, and returned with the disagreeable news, that not a single piece of ice was to be seen in any direction, and that it

had been forced away even from the coast at Nuasornak. They were therefore of opinion, that they could do nothing but force their way across the mountain of Kiglapeit.

Towards evening some flakes of ice were observed driving towards the coast, and on the 14th, in the morning, the sea was covered with them. But the weather being very stormy, the Esquimaux could not quit the snow-house, which made them very low-spirited and melancholy. Kassigiak suggested, that it would be well to attempt to make good weather, by which he meant to practise his art as a sorcerer. This the missionaries opposed, telling him that his heathenish practices were of no use, but that the weather would become favourable as soon as it should please God. The weather continuing extremely boisterous, the Esquimaux were ready to sink under their disappointment. They, however, possess one advantage, namely, the power of going to sleep when they please, and, if need be, they sleep for days and nights together.

In the evening of the 15th the sky became clear, and their hopes revived. Mark and Joel went out to reconnoitre, and reported that the ice had acquired a considerable degree of solidity, and might soon afford a safe passage. The poor dogs had now fasted nearly four days, but in the prospect of a speedy release, the missionaries allowed to each a few morsels of food. The temperature of the air having being rather mild, it occasioned a new source of distress, for by the warm exhalations of the inhabitants, the roof of the snow-house began to melt, which occasioned a continual dropping, and by degrees made every thing soaking wet. The missionaries considered this the greatest hardship they had to endure, for they had not a dry thread about them, nor a dry place to lie in.

On the 16th early the sky cleared, but the fine particles of snow were driven about like clouds. Joel and Kassigiak resolved to pursue their journey to OKKAK, by the way of Nuasornak, and set out with the wind and snow full in their faces. Mark could not resolve to proceed further north, because in his opinion the violence of the wind must have driven the ice off the coast at Tikkerarsuk, so as to render it impossible to land; but thought he might find a track to the south,

and get round Kiglapeit, The missionaries endeavoured to persuade him to follow the above-mentioned company to OKKAK, but it was in vain; and they did not feel at liberty to insist upon it, not being sufficiently acquainted with the circumstances. Their present distress dictated the necessity of venturing something to reach the habitations of men, and yet they were rather afraid of passing over the newly frozen sea, under Kiglapeit, and could not determine what to do. Brother Turner went again with Mark to examine the ice, and both seemed satisfied that it had acquired sufficient strength. They therefore came to a final resolution to return to NAIN, committing themselves to the protection of the Lord.

Notwithstanding the wind had considerably increased, accompanied with heavy showers of snow and sleet, they ventured to set off at half-past ten o'clock in the forenoon of the 17th. Mark ran all the way round Kiglapeit before the sledge to find a good track, and about one o'clock, through God's mercy, they were out of danger, and reached the Bay. Here they found a good track upon smooth ice, and made a meal upon the remnant of their provisions. Thus refreshed, they resolved to proceed without stopping till they reached NAIN, where they arrived at twelve o'clock at night.

It may be easily conceived with what gratitude to God the whole family at NAIN bade them welcome. During the storm, they had with some dread considered, what might be the fate of their brethren, though its violence was not felt as much there as on a coast unprotected by any islands. Added to this, the hints of the Esquimaux had considerably increased their apprehensions for their safety, and their fears began to get the better of their hopes. All, therefore, joined most fervently in praise and thanksgiving to God, for this signal deliverance.

The ensuing summer the Brethren began a third missionary establishment on the coast to the south of NAIN, which they called HOPKDALE. For this purpose they purchased from the Esquimaux, that tract of land, which had been formerly reconnoitred and deemed peculiarly eligible for a settlement.\* They were encouraged to this extension of their labours, in

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\* See page 72.

consequence of the eagerness then manifested by the heathen in that vicinity to hear the gospel, and in the fond hope, that by this means a communication might be opened between them and the so-called Red-Indians, who live in the interior, and now and then approach the coast in small parties. This latter object, however, has hitherto remained unattainable. And even with respect to the Esquimaux themselves, our missionaries had several years to deplore their rejection of the gospel, so that in 1790 it even appeared as if they had entirely withdrawn from these parts. This unpromising state of things led both the missionaries and the Society for the Furtherance of the Gospel among the Heathen, to consider the expediency of relinquishing this settlement altogether. The Lord, however, directed otherwise; and in the sequel, HOPEDALE was the very place, where the new awakening among the Esquimaux commenced, and from thence spread to the other two settlements:

In 1790 many horrid murders were committed in the North. The natives fell upon each other in their tents by night, and numbers were massacred in the most barbarous manner. Amidst the alarm, which this event spread through the country, our missionaries were not a little encouraged by the remarks made by the Esquimaux, who resided on their land. They expressed their gratitude, that the Brethren had settled in the country, adding, "As many murders would certainly have been committed here if you had not come and brought us the good news of our Creator and Redeemer, of his love to us, and our duty to love him and our neighbour."

About six years after our brethren had a very trying period. An epidemical disease broke out among the natives, and raged through the whole country for some months. All the settlements were visited by it, and it attacked not only the Esquimaux, but also the Europeans; in their case, however, its violence was considerably mitigated. They were obliged for several weeks almost totally to suspend their usual meetings for worship, as the Esquimaux could not leave their dwellings. It proved a source of great grief to them, to find that some of their people, when the medicine administered did not imme-

diately produce the desired effect, had recourse to their old heathenish and superstitious practices for recovery. With few exceptions, however, they afterwards confessed their sinful deviations, and with every mark of true penitency, begged to be reconciled to the congregation. In the settlements the disorder was not generally fatal, only three or four dying in consequence of it; but among the heathen its violence was greater and the deaths more frequent. Notwithstanding their excessive dread of death, the gospel as yet found no entrance among them. They indeed acknowledged the necessity of conversion, if they would have any solid hope of happiness beyond the grave; but the impression was soon effaced, and they seldom came near the missionaries.

During this period the Esquimaux, William Tuglavina, and his wife Mikak, died at NAIN, the latter in 1794 and the former in 1799. They had been noted characters, both among their countrymen, and at the mission. Mikak, who during her visit in London, was instrumental in promoting the establishment of the mission,\* continued to render essential services to the missionaries on their arrival in Labrador in 1771, and for some time was an attentive hearer of the gospel. Expressing an apparently sincere desire to obtain true conversion of heart she was admitted to the class of candidates for baptism. But removing soon after to the South, she lost her good impressions, relapsed into heathenism and seldom came near our brethren. The last ten days of her life she spent in NAIN, where she was faithfully attended by one of the missionaries. Her declaration and conduct were such as to encourage the hope, that she had found mercy with God our Saviour.†

Of her husband the missionaries give the following account. "Tuglavina, now called William, was from the beginning well acquainted with the missionaries. He was a man of great note among the Esquimaux, and acquired extraordinary influence and power, not only by his activity, dexterity and success in hunting, his courage, bodily strength and hardiness, which are considered the most essential qualifications of a great man among

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\* See p. 71.

† Per. Acc. Vol. ii. p. 170.

the Indians ; but also by remarkable strength of mind, and quickness of understanding, far superior to that of most of his countrymen. He took advantage of their credulity and general mental inferiority, to gain an astonishing ascendancy over them ; and his word was absolute law. As a sorcerer, he was believed to have extraordinary powers given him by the *Torngak* or familiar spirit, whom he pretended to consult on all occasions ; and so little did the poor deluded savages mistrust his inspirations, that it has often happened, that if he declared on the word of his *Torngak*, that such an one ought not to live, the wretched object of his vengeance was instantly murdered by the company. Thus he not only became guilty of the murder of several persons by his own hands ; but of many more through his influence and insinuations. The missionaries would have fallen an easy prey to his murderous disposition, had God permitted him to disapprove of their settling in the country. But, though a tyrant among his own nation, and in various ways a great disturber of the peace of the mission, and the seducer of many converts, he always respected and even loved the missionaries. He would submit and even tremble in their presence, whenever reprov'd for his bad conduct ; always confessing, that he ought to be converted, and to forsake the ways of sin.

“ As an instance of his submission to the missionaries, brother Haven mentions in one of his reports, that when Tuglavina, at the head of a party of Esquimaux, returned the first time from Chateau Bay, having furnished himself with a sloop of two masts, European arms, and many other accoutrements ; he stepped unexpectedly into the Mission-House, and into brother Haven's room, dressed in an old officer's uniform, with a bob-wig and a huge laced hat, a sword to his side, and altogether in the habit of a European officer, uttering several threats, and boasting of his valiant deeds in the South. Brother Haven looking sternly at him, exclaimed, ‘ What, are you Tuglavina ? depart this minute ; I have nothing to say to you in this dress ; put on your old Esquimaux furs, and then return ; behave like a sober Esquimaux, and I'll answer your speech.’ Tuglavina instantly left the room, as if thunderstruck ; and without reflecting on the degrading appearance he must make before his



countrymen, in putting off his boasted ornaments, returned to the missionaries, dressed in the plain Esquimau fashion ; who then very seriously reprov'd him for the wicked practices and the murders of which he had been guilty, and for inveigling so many of the baptized to follow him to the South, where he had seduced them into all manner of heathenish abominations. During this address, Tuglavina grew pale, trembled exceedingly, confessed himself an abominable sinner ; but said that he *must* sin, for the devil forced him to it, and he could not help himself. This gave the missionary a desirable opportunity of preaching unto him Jesus as an Almighty Saviour. Such opportunities became more frequent in the following years ; and he often shed tears when confessing his wicked deeds, which contrary to the general practice of the Esquimaux, he never denied. In the sequel he became more attentive to the gospel, did every thing in his power to serve the missionaries, and though often hurried into the commission of sin, and by his great reputation among his countrymen, beguiled into conceit, and prevented from humbling himself under the mighty hand of God, yet it was apparent that the Lord followed him, to make him a monument of infinite mercy. At length he gave such proofs of his sincerity and firm resolution to turn with his whole heart unto the Lord, and forsake the ways and even the conversation of the heathen ; that our brethren could not but consider this sinner, though so heavily laden with the most enormous crimes, an object of God's mercy and pardon, and a candidate for eternal life. After the usual time of trial as an inhabitant of the settlement, and many serious conversations, and much previous instruction, he was received into the fellowship of the believers, on christmas day 1793 ; renouncing the devil and all his works, and promising, with heart and hand, to devote himself unto that God, who made and bought him with his precious blood. He had already during a dangerous illness been baptized in Chateau Bay by a Presbyterian minister.\*

“ After his admission to the Lord's Supper his conduct and expressions of gratitude for all the mercies bestowed upon him,

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\* Per. Acct. Vol. i. p. 254.

proved very pleasing and encouraging to the missionaries. He evinced a cordial interest in the conversion of his countrymen, and frequently addressed them on the concerns of their souls with such earnestness as no Esquimau had ever done before. The following year, however, he relapsed, and his conduct was so grossly offensive, that it became necessary to exclude him from the Lord's table for some time, till he shewed, not only by his words but by his whole behaviour, that he sincerely repented of his deviation. In his last illness, he declared, 'that he was ready to go to Jesus, and hoped that the Saviour would not reject him.' He repeatedly testified, 'that he was happy and put his trust in God our Saviour alone.' As his bodily pain increased, he frequently called on the Lord to release him and take him to himself. He was about sixty years of age when he died\*."

Towards the close of 1800 an event occurred at HOPEDALE of the most melancholy nature. The missionary J. W. Reiman, having gone out on the 2nd of December to procure some fresh provisions by shooting, returned no more, and as no one was with him, his brethren could only conjecture, that he must have lost his life by the ice breaking under him. This conjecture received additional probability from the account given by four Esquimaux, who, when he did not return in the evening, went in search of him, and continued the search the whole night. They reported that by the light of the moon, they could discern the marks of his feet in several places, but lost them again when they came to the ice. As soon as it was light the next morning the missionaries, accompanied by all the Esquimaux, set off to make a general search, and were favoured with the continuance of fine weather; but their search was as fruitless as that of the preceding night. They keenly felt the loss of him; nor could any thing assuage their grief but the divine consolations with which they were graciously favoured.

In the diary of HOPEDALE, of 1803, a pleasing instance is related of the mild and forgiving spirit of the gospel. In a

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\* Par. Acct. Vol. ii. p. 436.

conversation which took place among some of the converts, in the presence of a missionary, many disputes were amicably settled, and quarrels prevented. They showed a readiness to confess their grievances and faults to each other, and a sincere disposition mutually to forgive and forget them, and begin anew to bear with each other in the spirit of true brotherly love. "This circumstance was the more striking," say the missionaries, "as the custom of the Esquimaux is, to suppress their displeasure, and even to feign indifference on receiving injuries; but to watch an opportunity for revenge, which if no earlier opportunity presents itself, breaks out in the most diabolical and murderous retaliation, perhaps ten or twelve years after the offence has been given."

The following horrible incident forms a melancholy contrast to the benign influence of religion just mentioned. Intelligence was brought to our missionaries at OKKAK, in January 1806, from Kivalek, that the old sorcerer, Uiverunna, had spent the winter there, he and his family being the only residents. Here his wife died; upon which the old monster seized a poor orphan child, whom he had formerly adopted. Having murdered it, he cut it across all the joints of the fingers and toes, ripped open the belly and threw the body naked into the sea. "Though we are not acquainted with his motives for so atrocious an act," write the missionaries, "yet we know, that it belongs to that system of diabolical incantations, by which he expects to appease the devil, by whom he pretends to do great wonders, but who now, according to his notions, required a greater sacrifice than usual, as he had not saved the life of his wife." He did not long escape the punishment he so amply deserved. Having of late endeavoured to render himself formidable among the Heathen, by making them believe he had power to kill whomsoever he pleased, as he never failed, when any died, to have it reported, that *he* had sent them out of the world by his *torngak*, or familiar spirit; and being also known as an old murderer, many had resolved to kill him as soon as a fit opportunity should offer. Among other lies he some time ago pretended, that by his sorceries he had killed Kugalek's two wives, who died on one day. Ever since Kugalek sought for revenge;

and being joined by another man, they succeeded in dispatching the old sorcerer, shortly after the above act of infanticide.\*

Hitherto the conversion of the heathen in Labrador had not only proceeded very slowly, but had been attended with many discouraging circumstances. The missionaries had patiently persevered in preaching to the natives, and watching every opportunity to make them attentive to the best interests of their souls; but had reaped little fruit from their labours. Visits were frequent, and there was in general no want of hearers to address, but they shewed no disposition to be instructed. If even a salutary impression was occasionally made on their minds, it was not abiding. Some families were indeed collected in the different settlements, but after staying there during the winter, they mostly moved away again in summer, and apparently forgot all they had heard. A few had been baptized and admitted to the Lord's table, yet even these caused the missionaries more grief than pleasure. They had no power to resist the temptations placed in their way, when associating with the heathen during their summer excursions. This often obliged the missionaries to exclude them from the fellowship of the believers. In case of sickness, they were but too ready to have recourse to the superstitious tricks of sorcerers. Even those who refrained from superstitious practices, and were moral in their general deportment, had no true life of God in their souls. They might in some degree observe the form of godliness, but were destitute of its power.

One principal impediment to the progress of the mission was the practice of the Esquimaux, especially those at HOPE-DALE, to go to the south to purchase fire-arms and other articles from the Europeans. Here they associated with the heathen and soon relapsed into their former impious practices. However, as a scarcity began to prevail in that quarter, in consequence of which many perished of hunger, a stop was at length put to these roving.

This was the state of the mission at the beginning of 1804; but before the close of that year a new period commenced. A

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\* Per. Acct. Vol. vi. p. 258.

fire from the Lord was kindled among the Esquimaux, accompanied with the clearest evidence of being the effect of divine operations on their hearts. It commenced at HOPEDALE, the very place, which presented the most discouraging prospect.

When the Esquimaux of that place returned from their summer excursions, the missionaries were delighted to find, that they not only had been preserved from sinful practices, but had greatly increased in the knowledge of divine truth. They had obtained an humbling insight into the corruption and deceitfulness of their hearts, and the wretched state of a person void of faith in Christ. This constrained them to cry for mercy and gladly to accept salvation on the terms of the gospel: and some afforded encouraging hopes, that they had found forgiveness of sins in the blood of Christ, by which their souls were filled with peace in believing. Out of the abundance of the heart their mouths spake of the love and power of Jesus. Their artless, but energetic, declarations impressed the rest of the inhabitants. They began to feel the necessity of true conversion; and in a short time all the adults appeared earnestly to seek peace with God. Even several of the children were awakened. Our missionaries were daily visited by people, who either inquired, "what they must do to be saved," or testified of the grace of God manifested to their souls.

The work of conversion, thus begun at HOPEDALE, soon spread to NAIN; and was promoted by rather a singular occurrence. Two young men, Siksagak and Kapik, whose parents were members of this congregation, went to HOPEDALE, where the mother-in-law of the former resided. His intention was to convey his wife back to his mother, and marry another, who promised to second him in every heathenish abomination, and to forsake the Christian Esquimaux altogether. This man, on entering his own mother's house at HOPEDALE, found the family engaged in their evening devotion. They did not suffer themselves to be disturbed by his arrival; he sat down, quite astonished at what he saw and heard, being ignorant of what they were doing. The whole company earnestly entreated him, not to part from his wife, but pray for true conversion of

heart. To these entreaties the missionaries added their exhortations ; but all to no purpose ; he persisted in his determination. His relations, finding that advice and persuasions had no effect, resorted to prayer. The following day they all assembled in his mother's house, and, in his presence, joined in fervent supplications for his conversion. His mother, among the rest, uttered this petition ; " O Lord Jesus ! behold this my child ; I now give him up to Thee ; O, accept him, and suffer him not to be lost for ever !" A scene, so unprecedented and unexpected, had an instantaneous effect on the young man ; he evidenced a real concern for his salvation, and his whole heart appeared changed : he desisted from his wicked purpose, and took his wife back, and became an humble enquirer after divine truth ; to whom the Lord afterwards showed great mercy. His companion, Kapik, also was powerfully awakened, by the instrumentality of his relations.

On their return to NAIN these two men, with energy and boldness, preached Jesus to their countrymen. Some of their friends heard them with astonishment, others mocked and hated them ; but the impression made on the inhabitants of the settlement was pleasing and permanent. " We saw several of our people," say the missionaries, " by degrees yielding to conviction, and beginning to doubt whether their Christianity were of the right kind, and whether they had not been deceiving themselves and others. They came voluntarily and confessed their sins, some with many tears, and in a manner of which we had had no instances before. The more seriously they reflected on their former life, the more deeply were they convinced of the treachery of their hearts ; they wept on account of the deceit they had so often practised, and confessed to us things, of which we could have formed no conception. Though we could not but feel pain on account of their former hypocrisy, our grief was counterbalanced by the joy we felt at the amazing power of our Saviour's grace, by which their hearts were thus broken and softened. Our faith, which in some cases, was indeed very weak, revived, and we saw clearly that with God nothing is impossible."

The news of these pleasing events at HOPEDALE and NAIN

soon spread to OKKAK, followed by similar effects. The work of conviction and conversion here was greatly promoted by visits of the Christian Esquimaux from NAIN. These visitors showed such an ardent desire to describe to their countrymen the love and mercy of God, which they had so savingly experienced themselves, that they went from tent to tent, testifying of the love of Jesus to sinners in so impressive and affecting a manner, that their hearers could resist no longer, but came to the missionaries and confessed the dangerous state of their souls, earnestly enquiring what they must do to be saved. Even the heathen visitors from the north, who passed through the settlement, were struck. They frequently called on the missionaries, and of their own accord came to the chapel and listened to the gospel with silence and much apparent devotion. They expressed their regret that they lived at such a great distance, and could not conveniently remove from their native country, but said, if the missionaries could come to them, they would gladly receive instruction. Many of the heathen also, living in the neighbourhood of our brethren, were so astonished at the occurrences among their believing countrymen, that they resolved to move to one or other of the settlements.

The progress of the mission in the sequel supplies sufficient proof, that this effect of the gospel was not a wild fire, or the mere consequence of a momentary impression, but a divine work, wrought in the hearts of the natives by the Spirit of God himself. The missionaries frequently mention the attention and diligence shown in the schools, both by adults and children, and the delight and fervour, with which they engage in their family devotions and in conversations with each other respecting the influence of the gospel on their own souls. Their behaviour at public worship likewise very strikingly differed from that of former years, with regard to the eagerness with which they now attended the house of God, and their deportment during the performance of divine service. On one occasion the missionaries remark, "We no longer see bold, undaunted heathen sitting before us, with defiance or ridicule in their looks; but people expecting a blessing, desirous of experiencing the power of the word of life, shedding tears of repentance,

and their whole appearance evincing devotion and earnest inquiry."

Whenever any heathen Esquimaux obtained permission to live on the land belonging to our brethren, their Christian countrymen manifested the purest joy. The following occurrence, related in the report from HOPEDALE of 1805, will serve to confirm this assertion. "As soon as it was known, that some heathen had obtained leave to stay, there arose among our Esquimaux such a spirit of joy and gladness, that it was truly affecting to witness it. Since their arrival here, our people had not failed to speak of the mercy which the Lord had shewn in their own conversion, and to preach Jesus to them as the only Saviour, who alone could make them happy both here and hereafter; and now, on being informed that they were to be inhabitants of the place, they hardly knew how to contain themselves for joy. Young and old ran to help them with their baggage, and to settle their little affairs. It happened also, that early in the morning, a party of heathen Esquimaux, who had declared that they would not live with the believers, on departing, had left a man with his wife and child behind, who refused to follow the heathen any longer, and begged to be permitted to live here. He had pitched his tent at some distance, but our people, filled with love and ardour to serve all those who manifested a sincere desire of being converted, went immediately, took it down, and set it up in the midst of their own dwellings. The new comers were quite humbled and amazed by such proofs of love and attention on the part of their Christian countrymen, and declared, that for the first time in their lives they had found people, who loved them with disinterested sincerity\*."

A proof, no less striking, of the transforming influence of the gospel, appeared in the readiness of the believing Esquimaux to abandon those superstitious habits and practices, to which they are apt to cling to the very last. A woman, who had been called Magdalene at her baptism, resisted many temp-



tations, put in her way by her husband. Having formerly been very ailing, the heathen used to give her a variety of charms and amulets which she wore about her clothes, whenever she went to sea. In the summer of 1806, being ready to set out on a voyage with her husband, she threw them into the water, saying to the whole company: "Now we shall see, whether there is a Jesus, who can save and preserve us in health without this trumpery." She enjoyed remarkably good health during the whole voyage; which greatly confirmed her previous convictions of the sinfulness of her past life, and her resolution to devote herself entirely to the Lord. Nor was this a solitary instance; the cases were now becoming less frequent every year, in which, in consequence of their having been seduced to heathen superstitions during their summer residence at a distance from the settlement, the missionaries found themselves compelled to exclude any of the converts from church-fellowship; a circumstance which in the early period of the mission caused them so much sorrow and perplexity.

In 1811 the settlement at HOPEDALE suffered considerable diminution. A very unusual disorder broke out among the natives, of which the missionaries give the following account: "Our Esquimaux had been for a long time preserved from any particular illnesses, except being subject to a kind of eruption and boils, which however, though painful and unpleasant, were rather beneficial to their general health. But on the 24th of July, as a boat filled with our people was leaving Tikkerarsuk, one of their provision-places, to return to HOPEDALE, several of them, one after the other, were seized with a nervous paralytic disorder of a most dangerous and deadly nature, insomuch that, during the next eight days, thirteen of them departed this life, of whom seven were communicants. Three of them were fishing in perfect health in the morning, and in the evening lay as corpses in the boat. Above thirty were taken ill, and some brought nigh unto death, but now, thank God, the greater number have recovered, though a few are still very weak. As late as the 12th of September, we buried an old communicant, called Luke. Terror and dismay seized the people, but we confidently believe, that those who departed this life are now in

the presence of *Him*, whom they had known here as their Saviour, and to whose holy will they expressed full resignation at the approach of death. By this afflicting dispensation we have now got a considerable number of widows and orphans, depending entirely upon charity, and we cannot withhold from them occasional assistance. We often commend them in prayer to the Father of the fatherless, who will in mercy regard and supply their wants.”\*

The missionaries had not been long settled in Labrador, before they discovered that the coast was very thinly inhabited. They consequently conceived that the aim of the mission would be better attained, if access could be had to the main body of the nation, from which the ~~rolling~~ Esquimaux on the coast appear to be mere stragglers. In this opinion they were confirmed by those heathen who annually visited the settlements, and who reported that the body of the Esquimaux nation lived near, and beyond, Cape Chudleigh. These visitors conceived much friendship for the missionaries, never failed to request, that some of them would come to their country, and even urged the formation of a new settlement, considerably to the north of OKKAK.

In order to determine the practicability of thus extending the labours of our brethren in Labrador, the directors of the missions, after mature deliberation, recommended them to undertake a voyage for the purpose of exploring the northern coast, which had hitherto remained unknown to European navigators.

The missionaries Kohlmeister and Kmoch cheerfully engaged in this difficult and perilous enterprise, for which they were well qualified. The latter, to other essential qualifications, joined great cheerfulness and intrepidity. The former, having resided seventeen years in Labrador, was complete master of the language, and deservedly beloved both by the Christian and heathen Esquimaux; and his kind and affable manner was eminently calculated to conciliate the affections of unknown pagans, while his invincible zeal to promote their temporal and spiritual welfare sustained his mind in every difficulty and

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\* Per. Acct. Vol. v. p. 125.

danger. He had besides acquired some knowledge of mineralogy, botany, the use of the quadrant and other sciences, which might be of advantage on such an expedition.

They engaged the Christian Esquimau, Jonathan, of HOPEDALE, who possessed a two-masted shallop, for a liberal recompense, to conduct them on their voyage. He was a man of superior understanding and skill, and of uncommon presence of mind in difficulties and dangers. At HOPEDALE he was considered the principal person, or chief, of his nation. On his part it was no small sacrifice to accompany the missionaries, for though an Esquimau roves a good deal during summer in quest of food, yet in winter he always, if possible, settles in his native place, where he is esteemed and beloved. But Jonathan was willing to relinquish all these comforts, to reside among strangers where he would have no pre-eminence, and expose himself to unknown hardships and dangers, uncertain whether he should ever return, sustained only by the hope that the projected voyage might pave the way for the introduction of the gospel into that quarter. When any of his countrymen represented to him the danger of the expedition he used to say, "Well, we will try; we shall know better when we get there." Once he said, "When I hear people talk about the danger of being killed, I think: Jesus died out of love to us, what great matter would it be, if we were to be put to death in *his* service, should that be his good pleasure concerning us." Nor did he ever, during the whole voyage, forsake that generous principle, but his cheerful, firm and faithful conduct under all circumstances proved most honourable to the character of a convert to Christianity.

Besides the missionaries and the captain our travellers were joined by the family of the latter, and three other Esquimaux families from HOPEDALE, and a fifth from OKKAK, who attended the shallop in a skin-boat. The whole company, therefore, consisted of nineteen persons, among whom were several young children. They all met at OKKAK, and waited there till the bay was cleared of ice.

Having freighted the vessel with the things necessary for the voyage, the travellers were commended to the grace and protec-

tion of God in a meeting of the congregation at OKKAK, on the evening of the 23rd of June 1811.

At two o'clock the following afternoon they weighed anchor, and for several days proceeded without any remarkable occurrence. The sea being still full of drift-ice, which it required great care to avoid, they mostly approached the shore at night and cast anchor. They frequently met with companies of Esquimaux from OKKAK and other places, who had their summer-station along the coast. With these the missionaries held meetings for worship, whenever circumstances permitted, especially on Sundays.

Proceeding in a northerly direction the travellers found their passage completely occupied with floating ice, driving towards them and forcing them to return. This brought them into great distress, so that the captain himself repeatedly exclaimed in a plaintive tone: "Alas, alas, we shall soon be without boat!" With the utmost difficulty they sailed along the shore, some being obliged to land and haul the boat with ropes round the points, and others with hooks and spars to keep her off the rocks. Two or three times she stuck fast on sunken rocks, but by God's mercy was got off again without being damaged. At length they got into *Nullatartok* bay, in the 59th degree of North latitude. It is surrounded by high mountains, and so shallow at the upper end, that no large ice-fields can float in it. Here they pitched their tents and were detained twelve days; during which time they explored the country as far as they were able. The mountains were covered with moss, alder, birch, and various shrubs and plants; and the vallies with grass and a great variety of flowers. The rocks were slaty, easily splitting into plates of from four to eight feet square. They discovered three rivers abounding in salmon.

The sea being at length cleared of ice they embarked again, on July the 15th, and steered towards *Nachvak* bay, the magnificent mountains of which afforded them a most enchanting prospect, especially at sun-rise. A party of heathen Esquimaux, about fifty in number, had fixed their summer residence on this bay. As soon as our voyagers approached loud shouts of joy resounded from all quarters, and muskets, were fired in

every direction. They had scarce patience to wait for their landing, and were all eager to assist them in pitching their tents. Their behaviour was modest and rather bashful, and there was no reason to complain of any unpleasant intrusions; nor were any thefts committed. They rested here two days, and did not neglect to acquaint the heathen with the design of their voyage; and to preach the gospel to them. They were evidently much impressed, and one of their chief men said: "I am determined to be converted to Jesus." The Christian Esquimaux, in the travelling company, were likewise very zealous in exhorting their countrymen to believe in Jesus, and on every occasion exhibited the character of true believers.

On the 25th of July they arrived at *Oppernavik*, lying between the 60th and 61st degree of north latitude, not far from *Cape Chudleigh*. Here they found Uttakiyok, with his two wives and youngest brother, waiting for them. He and his family are from the *Ungava* bay, the very place to which they were directing their course. He was one of the two Esquimaux, from whom our missionaries received the first distinct information respecting the *Ungava* country and its inhabitants. Having learned, that it was the intention of our brethren to make a voyage to that country in the present year, he had waited for their arrival in *Oppernavik* during the whole spring, and had erected signals on all the heights surrounding his tent, that they might not miss him. This man was of very essential service to them, as without such a steady and trusty guide, they must have been wandering in the most painful and perilous uncertainty in the desert regions to the west of *Cape Chudleigh*, where, on a coast of one hundred miles in length, they did not meet a single inhabitant. He executed the office, he had thus voluntarily undertaken, with a degree of faithfulness and disinterested kindness, which excited their admiration and gratitude.

After enduring much fear and difficulty on the first of August from large shoals of ice surrounding them on all sides, they safely passed the whirlpools and eddies in the straits, and doubled *Cape Chudleigh* without meeting with any disaster, except that the skin-boat, which they had in tow, with an Esquimau in her,

was seized by the vortex and received a rapid twist; but as the towing-rope did not break, she was immediately, by the swiftness of their course, rescued from danger.

Having thus entered the ocean on the western side of Cape *Chudleigh* they found themselves, as it were, transported into a new world. The coast, which had hitherto taken a northerly direction, now turned to the south-south-west. They soon got sight of the *Ungava* country, and sailed briskly amidst the numerous islands, lying along the coast, which is low with gently sloping hills. They discovered three skin-boats, full of people, standing towards them from the shore. They were inhabitants of *Ungava*, and welcomed them with shouts of joy, and with firing their pieces. The missionaries visited them in their tents, informing them of the purpose for which they had undertaken this voyage. As many of these Esquimaux had never before seen an European, they did not know how to satisfy their curiosity with gazing at them, and even felt them all over.

August 7th they arrived at the mouth of the river of *Kangerthualuksoak*, to which they afterwards gave the name of *GEORGE'S-RIVER*. To this spot they had from the first directed their attention. It lies about 140 miles S. S. W of Cape *Chudleigh*, in lat.  $58^{\circ}$ , 57' North. Here they pitched their tents and stayed several days for the purpose of exploring the country. At a short distance from their landing place they discovered a spot, which appeared well adapted for a missionary station. It is a green slope, or terrace, overgrown with shrubs, a woody valley extended on one side. Their conductor, *Uttakiyok*, who had spent more than one winter in the *Ungava* country, assured them that there was here an ample supply of provisions, both in summer and winter, for the Esquimaux, and expressed his conviction that they would collect from all parts and settle here, if a missionary establishment were formed. As to Europeans the missionaries entertained no doubt, that they might find means of subsistence in this place, as it is accessible for ships, and has wood and water in plenty. These considerations induced them to erect high marks of stones, on the two opposite hills at the entrance of the bay; and on a declivity of a hill on the right, they fixed a board, in which were carved

the initials of the present King of Great Britain, those of the two missionaries, and of the Society to which they belonged, together with the day and year of their arrival,

Our travellers, after leaving this place, had proceeded but a short way, when they were obliged to cast anchor in an exposed situation, being detained several days by contrary winds: and when the wind became more favourable, it blew so hard a gale, that they were in imminent danger of suffering shipwreck. Their situation now became critical and rather alarming. The season was far advanced, and the Esquimaux expressed their fears, that if they proceeded much farther, they might not find it practicable to return to OKKAK before winter, which would be attended with most distressing consequences.

These circumstances threw the missionaries into a very perplexing dilemma. They were only seventy or eighty miles distant from the western extremity of the *Ungava* country, which they had fixed upon as the final object of their voyage, and yet difficulties now presented themselves, which seemed to render it nearly impossible to reach this point. In this perplexity they retired to their own tent, and, having maturely weighed all circumstances, entreated the Lord's direction in fervent prayer. They rose from their knees with a firm conviction in their minds, that they ought to proceed in *His* name, relying on his help. And when they mentioned their determination to the Esquimaux, they found them cheerfully disposed to prosecute the voyage.

Two days after the wind veered to the north-east, and became favourable, so that after a sail of six days they arrived at the mouth of the river *Kocksoak* (Sand-river,) the very place they had in view. Here they remained from August the 25th to the 1st of September, exploring the circumjacent country, and entering into conversation with the inhabitants respecting the object of this expedition. The difference between these Esquimaux and their countrymen living in the vicinity of our settlements was very striking. The former are very poor and miserably equipped, whereas the latter, by their intercourse with our brethren and other Europeans, have acquired many conveniencies, and even comparative affluence. They appeared

rather shy, but, after receiving a few trifling presents, they became more free and communicative, surveying the missionaries from head to foot, as if they were a new species of animals. They listened with attention to their discourses, repeatedly expressing their wish, that they would come and settle in the country, that they might hear more of the gospel and be converted.

The estuary of the *Koksoak* lies in 58°, 36' N. latitude, at the distance of from six to seven hundred miles from OKKAK, and is about as broad as the Thames at Gravesend. They gave it the name of *South-river*. Having proceeded further up this river, in the skin-boat, they arrived at a bay, surrounded on all sides by gently rising ground, well wooded with trees of moderate size. They gave it the name of *Unity's bay*. They considered this a very convenient place for a missionary settlement. A fine slope extends for about half an English mile, bounded on each extremity by a hill, on which they erected high signals. The land is level and dry, well watered by several rivulets issuing from the wood, in which they found various European plants and flowers, different kinds of shrubs, such as junipers, currants, &c., and grass and trees in abundance.

Our travellers now deemed it unnecessary to prosecute their voyage any further as, from all the intelligence they could gain from the natives, they were satisfied that no other place suitable for a missionary establishment could be found. Further west no wood grows along the coast, and there is no place, except the two rivers before named, where a ship could with safety approach the land; and at this season of the year they would probably meet with no inhabitants, as they were all gone into the interior to hunt reindeer. The object of their expedition having been thus far attained, they prepared for their return. They presented their faithful pilot, Uttakiyok, with their skin-boat, with which he was highly gratified. September the 2nd they commenced their voyage home, and, without meeting with any remarkable occurrence, arrived in safety at OKKAK on the 4th of October, after an absence of fourteen



weeks, having performed a voyage of from twelve to thirteen hundred miles\*.

During the following years no very remarkable events occurred in the three Settlements at HOPEDALE, NAIN, and OKKAK. The mission proceeded with a slow but steady pace, and though the accession of new converts was not great, yet our brethren had the pleasure to find that, with but few exceptions, those who came to reside with them, remained faithful to their promise on admission, to forsake their pagan customs, and improve all the means of grace for true conversion of heart. They were cheered in their benevolent exertions by observing clear evidences of a divine work in the children and young people, born and educated in the settlements. They were stimulated to increasing diligence at school by obtaining a new spelling and reading-book in the Esquimaux language. The progress of both young and old in scriptural knowledge was greatly promoted by the translation and printing of the Harmony of the four gospels, the Summary of Christian doctrine for the use of the children, and the subsequent version of each of the gospels separately, generously published at the expense of the British and Foreign Bible Society.† The devotion of the congregation has been much enlivened by the publication of a Hymn Book in their native tongue.

The early commencement and extraordinary severity of the winter of 1815 prevented the Esquimaux from procuring a sufficient stock of provisions; they were, however, preserved from absolute famine, as the missionaries rendered them all the assistance, which their own scanty stores allowed. This distress had in some measure an injurious influence on their spiritual course, as they were obliged to seek their food at a distance from the settlements. Some were so reduced by want and distress,

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\* See an interesting and detailed account of this expedition in a little work published by the Rev. C. I. Latrobe, and entitled *Journal of a voyage from Okkak in Labrador to Ungava bay, &c. &c.*

† The same excellent society having offered to print any other integral parts of the Bible, in the Esquimaux language, our missionaries have sent the Acts of the Apostles to London for this purpose, and are diligently occupied in translating and preparing for the press the remaining books of the New Testament.

that they seemed in a manner stupified, and scarce able to attend to the concerns of their souls with becoming seriousness. Many of them, however, manifested filial confidence in their heavenly Father, and due resignation to *his* will. Notwithstanding these trying circumstances the missionaries remark: "It is clearly seen, that the Christian Esquimaux have a consciousness of the necessity of knowing and relying on their Saviour and Redeemer, whom they are bound to love and serve; and often have we seen them shed tears on hearing the gospel. The conduct of our communicants has afforded us pleasure and edification, by which we have been greatly encouraged. In short, we rejoice in perceiving, that the work of God and his Spirit has been carried on in the hearts of our people, with manifest blessing, though amidst much weakness and imperfection on our part, and not distinguished by any extraordinary and striking appearances from without."

A trial, severer than any which had hitherto exercised the faith and patience of our brethren on this coast, was experienced by them in the year 1816 in consequence of the late arrival of the ship at NAIN and OKKAK and the complete failure of all the captain's attempts to reach the settlement at HOPE-DALE. The following is the official account of this disastrous event: "October 28th 1816 the *Jemima* arrived in the river from Labrador, after one of the most dangerous and fatiguing voyages ever known. She arrived at the drift-ice on the Labrador coast on the 16th of July. Captain Fraser found it extending two hundred miles from the land, and after attempting to get in, first at HOPE-DALE, then at NAIN, and lastly at OKKAK, he was at length completely surrounded by ice, and in the most imminent danger during six days and nights, expecting every moment that the ship would be crushed to pieces; with very great exertion he at length got towards the outer part of the ice. Yet he was beset by it for forty-nine days, and to the astonishment of all our brethren as well as the Esquimaux did not reach OKKAK till August 29th. The very next day the whole coast, as far as the eye could reach, was entirely choaked up by ice, and, after lying at OKKAK nearly three weeks, he was twice forced back by it on his pas-

sage to NAIN, which place he did not reach till Sept 22d. After staying the usual time, Captain Fraser proceeded Oct. 3d towards HOPEDALE, though with fine weather, yet, on account of the lateness of the season and a great deal of drift-ice, with but little prospect of reaching that settlement. Notwithstanding he mentioned his fears to the brethren at NAIN, brother Kmoch and his wife, and the two brethren Korner and Christensen, who were going to HOPEDALE, went on board, and they set sail. In the evening the wind rose and blew very hard, accompanied with a heavy fall of snow, and so dense a fog, that they could not see the length of the ship. Being within half a mile of a dangerous reef of rocks, the captain was obliged to carry a press of sail to clear them, which he did but just accomplish, when the gale increased to such a degree, the wind being right on shore, that he was obliged to lay to, when the sea often broke over the vessel. Seeing every attempt to reach HOPEDALE was in vain he was at last necessitated to bear away for England on Oct. 5th. On the 8th, 9th, and 10th, he again experienced a gale, equal to a hurricane, which during the night between the 9th and 10th was so violent, that the captain expected the ship would have foundered. She was at one time struck by a sea, which twisted her in such a manner, that the very seams of her larboard side opened, and the water gushed into the cabin, and into the mate's birth, as if it came from a pump, and every body at first thought her side was stove in; the Lord however, was pleased to protect every one from harm, and nothing was lost, nor has the ship suffered material damage\*."

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\* Per. Acct. Vol. vi. p. 270.—It deserves to be gratefully acknowledged, that this is the first calamity of this kind, experienced by our brethren since their arrival in Labrador. The ship, freighted for the purposes mentioned in page 72, had made forty-seven voyages to and from this coast, without suffering any serious disaster. Though some fears for her safety had been excited once or twice before, the issue was such, as to awaken gratitude rather than repining sensations. In 1778 the vessel was captured by a French privateer; but as it happened on her return, it was attended with no detriment to the missionaries; and being soon after recaptured by the English, she was restored to the owners. The captain, mate and two sailors, who had been taken to Dunkirk, were soon liberated, and all the letters and papers from Labrador transmitted unopened to our brethren in London. On her re-

This disastrous event occasioned many fears and perplexities, both to the missionaries in Labrador and their brethren and friends at home. It caused a very considerable expense to the funds of the Society. It unexpectedly removed four missionaries from the scene of their labours. And it awakened the most painful feelings in our brethren and sisters at HOPEDALE, who naturally concluded that the ship had been lost, as a considerable time elapsed, before they heard of her arrival at the other two settlements; and even then their anxiety was but partially relieved; being inclined to fear, that the vessel had foundered in her attempts to reach their harbour.

The four missionaries, who had thus unexpectedly been brought to Europe, after spending the winter in England, returned to Labrador in 1817. Their voyage was perilous, as the passage was frequently obstructed by immense fields of ice during heavy gales and thick fogs. But, though the vessel was greatly damaged, she safely reached the harbour of HOPEDALE; and, after receiving the needful repairs, proceeded to NAIN and OKKAK.

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turn in 1803 she escaped a similar danger. On the 18th of November she was chased by a French frigate; brought to and forced to keep her company. But the sea running very high, and continuing in that state for twenty-four hours, it was impossible for the frigate to send out a boat to board her. The second night proving extremely dark and boisterous the captain, setting as much sail as the ship would carry, ventured to attempt his escape, and in the morning saw no more of the frigate. Two days after, however, he had the mortification to meet her again, and to be brought to a second time. Again the Lord interposed. The wind was so violent, that the frigate could not put out a boat, and during the night the captain, crowding all the sails, fortunately escaped and saw no more of the enemy. On her voyage from NAIN to OKKAK in 1811 the mercy of God in her preservation was thankfully acknowledged by all on board. The cold was so intense, though only the latter end of September, that the running rigging, being covered with ice, would not work through the blocks, and had it been needful, the sails once set, could not have been handed. Even the sails were stiffened by the frost, so as to be quite unmanageable. But it pleased God, to grant such favourable wind and weather, that nothing was required but to steer the vessel. On reaching OKKAK, on the 29th of September, the sailors were obliged to go aft and knock off the ice and furl the sails. On her return to England she encountered storms little short of hurricanes; and though she sustained considerable damage, the captain did not deem it necessary to put in for repairs anywhere, and reached London in safety on the 2d. of December.

From the intelligence, brought by the ship on her return to England, the author is able to lay before his readers the following concise account of occurrences in this mission down to the autumn of 1817.

The non-arrival of the ship at HOPEDALE in the preceding year had, as was anticipated, caused much anxiety to the missionaries in that place. They had, however, suffered no want of provisions, being sufficiently supplied from the stores at NAIN.

The most distressing consequence of the event, just alluded to, was the obstacle, thereby thrown in the way of our brethren in OKKAK, to proceed during the summer of 1817 to the *Ungava* country; and spend the following winter there. But the unexpected removal of the missionaries to Europe, so reduced the number of those remaining in the country, that they were obliged, though very reluctantly, to relinquish that intention. This was the more to be regretted, as they had received previous information, that the inhabitants of the *Ungava* country were anxiously awaiting their arrival. But time and seasons are in the hands of the Lord; "He does all things well," and the duty of his servants is, "under every trial to be resigned to his will\*."

The peaceful and hopeful course of the Christian Esquimaux was unhappily disturbed by some pagan visitors from the south, who inveigled eighteen of the inhabitants of HOPEDALE and fifty of OKKAK to leave the settlements, and remove with them to the residence of the Europeans in the south. Discouraging as this was to our brethren, they were animated in the prosecution of their work, by observing, that the major part of their converts were progressively attaining more of the Christian character, both in knowledge and practice.

A few general observations will very properly close this chapter. The mission in Labrador, in many respects, bears a strong resemblance to that in Greenland. Most of the converts pass the winter in the settlements, dwelling in winter-houses; but the greater part of the summer they spend in their

provision-places on the islands, or along the coast, catching seals, or in the interior hunting reindeer; and when during this season they come, for a week or two, to the settlements, they dwell in their tents. During the winter the meetings for religious worship, not only on Sundays, but every day in the week, and likewise the schools, both for adults and children, are held in regular order.

Our brethren have laid out gardens, which, however, do not produce much except lettuce, spinnach and a few early turnips and cabbages. The country supplies them with some game, such as hares, wild geese, partridges, &c. and the bays furnish plenty of fish; in some years they have even caught more than 6000 large salmon-trouts at NAIN, which, together with cod, are prepared for winter's use. But, after all, their main subsistence must depend on the provisions annually sent from Europe. It is no wonder, therefore, that the arrival of the ship is always considered as a most auspicious event, and never fails to awaken the liveliest joy and gratitude.

They have one convenience not possessed in Greenland. The country supplies not only wood for fuel, but also timber for most purposes of building. With a view to facilitate their necessary labours of this kind, they have erected a saw-mill in each of the settlements.

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## CHAP. III.

### MISSION IN NORTH AMERICA.

WHEN the first Europeans came to North America they found it inhabited by numerous nations, comprehended under the general name of INDIANS. The principal of these nations are the *Delawares* and *Iroquois*\*, divided into several tribes. Besides these there are numerous other tribes, but of inferior note.

These nations occupy a territory extending from the 37th to the 48th degree of north latitude, and from the 77th to the 92nd degree of west longitude from London; being in length about eight hundred, and in breadth about eleven hundred miles. It is bounded by New York and Pennsylvania on the east, by the river Ohio on the south, by the river Mississippi on the west, and by Canada on the North. It includes the five large Canadian lakes, and is intersected by some of the noblest rivers in the world, besides a number of smaller streams.† The climate, in general, is very cold in winter and extremely hot in summer; though in some parts of the coun-

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\* *Iroquois* is the name given to these nations by the French, and as it has been adopted by Loskiel in his History of the Mission in North America, it has been retained in the subsequent narrative. The appellation, generally used by English Authors, is *the Six nations*, as the following six tribes are united in a close league with each other, viz. *Mohawks, Oneda, Onondago, Cayuga, Senneka, and Tuscarora*.

† This geographical description of the Indian territory corresponds with the state of things at the time, when the first missionaries arrived in the country, and it continued so for a series of years. But many and important changes have since taken place. The Indians have greatly diminished in number; several of the smaller Tribes have become nearly extinct, and extensive tracts of land, once occupied by them, are now in the possession of Great Britain, or the United States. It must in general be observed, that the introduction of Christianity and of the art of civilized life has gradually produced a very striking change in the character and habits of the Indians.

try it is more variable. The soil is naturally rich, abounding in trees and shrubs of almost every kind, and very fit for agriculture ; but the Indians bestow little labour on the cultivation of their lands, as they chiefly live by hunting and fishing, and never manure their grounds, but, whenever the strength of the soil is exhausted in one place, remove to another, and lay out new plantations,

The men are mostly slender, of a middle size, handsome and straight. They possess great dexterity and uncommon swiftness in walking and running. The women are of low stature, less handsome, and rather clumsy in their appearance. Both men and women are extremely fond of dress, and bestow much time and labour in decorating their persons. They paint their faces and heads in the most fantastical manner, and wear rings and other ornaments suspended from the ears and nose ; but the most singular decoration consists in sacrifices, representing serpents, birds and other creatures, which often cover the whole upper part of the body, and at a distance resemble a coat of mail. Their dress is light, consisting for the most part of a blanket, or a bear-skin, hung loosely over both shoulders, or only over the left, that the right arm may be free. Some wear caps, or hats, bought of the Europeans, others go bareheaded. On festive occasions they ornament their hair with plumes, silver rings, corals, &c. Their stockings are made of blue and red cloth, very long but without feet ; and their shoes of deer-skin, neatly sewed by the women. Round the waist they tie a girdle, made of leather, or of the inner bark of trees. In this they carry a small axe and a long knife, besides a pouch, made of the whole skin of a young otter, beaver, or fox, which contains a pipe, tobacco, pocket-knife and tinder-box, and is considered the most essential part of an Indian's furniture. The dress, which peculiarly distinguishes the women, is a petticoat, made of a piece of cloth of about two yards long, fastened tight about the hips, and hanging down a little below the knees.

Before their intercourse with the Europeans, their dwellings were nothing more than huts, made of bark, rushes or long grass. The Iroquois and other nations at a distance from the White



People\*, live still in huts of this description; but the Delawares have learned the convenience of block-houses, which they either build themselves, or employ white workmen.

The frame of an Indian hut is made by driving poles into the ground and strengthening them with crossbeams; which they cover within and without with bark. The roof runs up into a ridge, also covered with bark, and has an opening to emit the smoke. The light enters by small apertures, furnished with shutters. The door consists of a large piece of bark, without bolt or lock; a stick reared against the out-side, indicates that its inhabitants are from home. These huts are neither convenient nor well furnished, being mostly low. The fire-place is in the middle, round which are placed benches, rudely finished, serving also for tables and bedsteads. The same blanket, which clothes them in the day, is their covering at night, and the bed is a deer or bear-skin, or a mat made of rushes. Some line the inside of their huts with these mats, partly for ornament and partly to render them warmer. Their provisions and other necessities they hang on poles, fixed across the top of the hut. The Indian-corn they preserve in pits in the ground.

A number of these huts, standing together, is called an Indian town, and, if surrounded by pallisades, a fortification. These towns are not large, and in building them, no regular plan is observed, every one following his own fancy.

The Indians are not remarkable for cleanliness. Their pots, dishes, and spoons are seldom washed, but left for the dogs to lick. A difference, however, exists in this respect in the various tribes. Some of the dwellings of the Iroquois have a clean and neat appearance, and afford a comfortable night's lodging even to an European.

The men spend much of their time in warlike pursuits. When not thus engaged their chief employments consist in hunting, fishing and building canoes; every other kind of work being left to the women. In this respect, however, there is a great difference between a Delaware and an Iroquois family. A Delaware Indian hunts and fishes, provides meat

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\* The European settlers and their descendants are called *White People*, or simply *Whites*, to distinguish them from the Indians.

for the household, keeps his wife and children in clothing, builds and repairs the house, or hut, and makes fences round the plantation. The woman cooks the victuals, fetches firewood, and labours in the field and garden, though the husband will occasionally assist in the latter. Thus among them the women live as well as the situation of an Indian will allow.

But this is not the case among the Iroquois. An Iroquois, in his savage state, is proud of his strength, courage, and other manly virtues, and treats his wife with coolness, contempt, and not unfrequently with abuse; considering every occupation, but that of a hunter or warrior, as beneath his dignity. His wife must not only do all the business in the house and in the field, but even make the fences, keep the house in repair, and perform all kinds of drudgery. On a journey she must carry the baggage, and sometimes her husband's gun, and even the game he has shot.

A tacit understanding subsists among the married people, that whatever the husband obtains by hunting belongs to the wife. On the other hand, whatever the wife reaps from the garden and fields belongs to the husband, from which she must provide him with the necessary food, both when at home and on a journey. Some men keep the skins of the deers and bears, which they have killed, and with them purchase clothes for their wives and children. The cows are the wife's property, but the horses belong to the husband, who generally makes his wife a present of one for her own use.

The children are always considered the property of their mother, who has the sole management of their education while young. Both father and mother endeavour to gain the affection of their children; never use compulsion, or oppose their inclinations, but leave them to their own will. Yet many well bred children are found among them, who pay great attention and respect to their parents, and are civil to strangers. By the instruction and example of their parents the young people learn from very early years to suppress their passions, and acquire a command of temper truly astonishing.

The Delawares are renowned for their courage, peaceable disposition and powerful alliances, for nearly all the nations

in their neighbourhood are in league with them, and call them *Grandfather*\*. The Iroquois are a martial people, trained for war from their infancy. There are few Indian nations, except those living at a great distance, against whom they have not carried on very cruel and long continued wars. Ever since the year 1600 they have had frequent wars with the French.

As the chief occupation of Indians in time of peace consists in hunting, they lead a roving life, and often spend months at a distance from home. They are soon equipped for a journey, and do not encumber themselves with much luggage. If to their gun, tobacco-pouch and tinder-box, they add a little flour of Indian corn, they think themselves sufficiently provided; for the forests every where supply them with game.

No difficulties deter them: they travel through the woods without the trace of a path, and yet never go astray; and swim across the most rapid current with great agility. If need requires they build a canoe of the bark of trees, which does not take much time, and though very light will carry a considerable weight, but seldom is fit for use longer than a year. When night approaches they take up their quarters in the woods; and if it rains, they peel a few trees and quickly build a hut of bark. They are in no haste to proceed the next morning; but when they have once started they seldom stop till after sunset. If they travel in company they appoint one to be their leader, to whom they yield unreserved obedience.

Though the Indians cannot be called a civilized people, yet in point of moral character and mental powers, they probably rank higher than most other pagan nations. In the common intercourse of life they observe great decency, and treat each other as well as strangers with kindness and civility. In affairs of consequence they seem to speak and act with seriousness and cool deliberation, avoiding all appearance of precipitancy;

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\* The several tribes of Indians consider themselves as standing in certain relations to each other, as grandfathers, grandsons, fathers, sons, brothers, uncles and cousins. A public speaker among them, therefore, must be well acquainted with every thing, relating both to the state of his own people and that of the other nations, that he may be able to address each by the proper title.

but on closer examination it is evident that their caution originates in suspicion, and their coolness is affected; for they are perfect masters of the art of dissimulation.

Their hospitality is well known. They count it a most sacred duty, and exercise it even towards strangers, who take refuge among them. To refuse relief to any one is considered a grievous offence, and not only renders the delinquent detested and abhorred by all, but exposes him to the chastisement of the offended person.

In their conduct towards their enemies they are cruel and implacable, and, when enraged, bent upon nothing but murder and bloodshed. But they know how to conceal their passion, and will patiently wait for a convenient opportunity of gratifying it. In this case, however, their fury has no bounds. If they cannot gratify their resentment themselves, they call upon their friends and posterity to do it. The longest space of time cannot mitigate their wrath, nor the most distant place afford security to their enemy.

They consider the honour and welfare of the nation as of prime importance, and independence as the grand prerogative of Indians. This public spirit produces the noblest exertions in favour of their own people. In defence of their country they dread no danger, suffer any hardships, and endure the most exquisite tortures, and even death itself, with composure.

Being all equally noble and free; difference of rank is little known among them. The only difference consists in age, wealth, dexterity, courage and office. They have no regular political constitution and are subject to no magistracy, law, or restraint. Each nation, however, considers itself as a united body, and has a kind of government of its own choosing. Chiefs are appointed in every nation, but they are in fact nothing more in point of rank, than the most respected among their equals. Each Chief has his counsellors, who are either renowned warriors, or aged and respectable fathers of families. These constitute a Council, which guards the interests and promotes the welfare of the tribe, or nation, to which they belong. The dignity of the Chiefs is purely elective, and they can hold their authority no longer than they are respected. Their power in-

deed is very limited ; for though a Chief is authorised and even obliged, with the advice of his Counsellors, to keep good order and decide in all quarrels and disputes ; yet he never ventures to command, compel, or punish any one, for in that case he would immediately be forsaken by the whole tribe. He cannot even inflict punishment on murderers, or other atrocious criminals, for this right belongs to the injured family ; nor can he pardon a delinquent. He is indeed empowered to prevent all disorders, proceeding from the use of spirituous liquors, and even to prohibit their importation ; but few Chiefs have sufficient inclination, or resolution, to do their duty in this respect, or to set an example of sobriety. Though the Chief is obliged to lodge and entertain all ambassadors from other tribes, yet he must live at his own charges ; but as he has frequently a great number of guests, his friends supply him with game, and the women assist his wife in her plantations.

All affairs of importance are submitted to the whole Council, without whose consent no proposed measure can be carried into effect. The *strings* and *belts of wampom*\* and the great seal are in the custody of the Chief, and after his death they are carefully preserved by the Council till a new Chief is elected.

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\* *Wampom* is an Iroquois word, signifying a muscle. A number of these muscles strung together, is called a *string of wampom*, and several of these strings tied together, a *belt of wampom*. Every transaction of moment, either between the Indians themselves, or with the White People, is ratified and made valid by strings or belts of wampom. Upon the delivery of a string a *long* speech is made ; but when a belt is given, a *few* words only are spoken. Whenever the speaker has pronounced some important sentence, he delivers a string of wampom, adding, " I give this string of wampom as a confirmation of what I have spoken." But the chief subject of his discourse he confirms with a belt. The answers returned must also be confirmed by strings and belts of wampom of the same size and number with those received. Neither the colour nor other qualities of the wampom are matters of indifference, but have an immediate reference to those things which they are designed to confirm. Brown or deep violet, (called black by the Indians) always means something of severe and doubtful import ; but white is the colour of peace. Thus a warning against evil, or a serious reproof, is confirmed by a *black* string or belt of wampom. In case of war the belt is black, or marked with red, called by them the *colour of blood*, having in the middle the figure of a hatchet in *white* wampom.

Among the Delawares, who are divided into three tribes, the right of election does not belong to the tribe, over which he is to preside and of which he must be a member, but to the two other tribes. Being properly elected, he is invested with his office with due solemnity. If he is intelligent, and able to gain the affection of the Captains and people, the former will support his authority and assist him to the utmost, even at the hazard of his life. But his principal endeavour must be to secure the good will of his counsellors, for without their assistance he is a mere cypher.

The Iroquois have such exalted ideas of their greatness and liberty, that they will admit of no equal in rank, except the King of England, considering the English, in general, only as subjects. Their political constitution nearly resembles a republic, as the six nations of which they are composed, are independent of each other, or according to their phraseology, *have their own fire*, round which their Chiefs, Captains and Counsellors assemble to deliberate on the affairs of the community. They have, however, one large common fire burning at Onandago, to which the Great Council, consisting of all the Chiefs of the six nations resort, and where all public business is transacted. Most of the nations beyond the territory of the United States, are more or less connected with the Iroquois. Some are called *brothers*; others *cousins*, which implies a degree of subordination.

The favourite occupation of the Indians consists in warlike achievements. Hence they readily find a pretext for commencing hostilities, either against one another or against the white people. Formerly their wars were carried on with much greater fury, and lasted much longer than at present; some were even hereditary. To begin war is called, *to lift up the hatchet*.

The army of the Delawares and Iroquois consists of all the young men, including boys only fifteen years old. The strictest subordination is observed by an Indian army. All the warriors implicitly obey the command of the Captain; and on no occasion leave the camp without his permission. They yield him this obedience so much the more readily, as they

know that their life and honour, in a great measure, depend on his prudence and valour.

The cruelty of the victors is without bounds. All the slain of the enemy are, if possible, *scalped*. This operation they perform by placing their foot on the neck of the victim, seizing the hair with the left hand, and twisting it very tightly together, in order to sever the skin from the head; then they cut it all round with a sharp knife and tear it off. This operation is often performed in a minute, and when the person is alive sometimes proves fatal. The *scalps* are painted red, placed on a red pole, and carefully preserved as trophies of their prowess and victory. They behave with great tenderness to the wounded. Prisoners also are well treated while in the camp; but when the victorious army reaches its own towns, the captives are exposed not only to insults, but to acts of wanton barbarity.

During war the authority of the Chief ceases and is vested in the Captain. In point of rank he is more like a general, having several inferior officers under him. The office of Captain is neither hereditary nor elective; but depends on mere contingencies. The appointment to it not unfrequently originates in a dream, which according to the wish of the dreamer, or his friends, is interpreted as indicative of his future destiny. Having thus far gained his point, the aspiring youth endeavours to qualify himself for the office by feats of valour. The essential qualifications for it, and without which no one can hold this distinguished rank, are prudence, cunning, resolution, bravery, undauntedness, and especially good fortune. If an inferior officer has the good fortune not to lose a man of his troop, in six or seven engagements, and to bring prisoners and other trophies of victory to the camp, he is raised to the rank of Captain without further ceremony. As promotion to this rank mainly depends on good fortune, the number of Captains in each tribe is very limited.

They never make peace till compelled by necessity. But as soon as terms of peace are proposed, the Captains lay down their office, and deliver the government of the state into the hands of the Chiefs. A Captain has no more right to con-

clude peace, than a Chief has to begin war. If the Chief inclines to peace, he again exercises his power, takes the hatchet from the Captain, and desires him to *sit down*, that is, to make a truce. The Captain is then obliged to cease from all hostilities; and is generally chosen to be a deputy at the ensuing treaty.

An embassy of peace is never committed to one man only. Two or more, and sometimes even fifteen or twenty ambassadors, are chosen, according to the strength of the nation with whom the treaty is to be made. One of them is appointed head of the embassy, who settles the preliminaries, makes speeches and delivers the strings and belts of wampom. Such an ambassador must not only be an intelligent man, and universally respected, but must possess great strength of body, to endure the fatigue connected with his employ.

Such an embassy carries the *pipe of peace* before them, answering to our flag of truce; and the respect shown to it is such, that an insult offered to the bearer is accounted a most heinous crime, which the Great Spirit will surely revenge. The commission is opened by the Head-chief, or President, who smokes for a short time out of the pipe of peace, having first, with great solemnity, turned it towards heaven and then to the earth. This ceremony is so essential that no European governor, or ambassador, can make peace with the Indians without it. The pipe is then handed round among all the ambassadors and members of the Council. Upon this the principal ambassador opens his commission in a pompous speech, displaying all the powers of Indian oratory; confirming every subject with giving a string, or belt of wampom.

If these strings and belts are handed about in the assembly and attentively considered, it is a proof that the message is well received. The answer is then given with the same solemnity; and the ambassadors withdraw. The message having been maturely considered and every thing necessary for its confirmation arranged, they again are called in and the speaker, appointed by the Council, holding a string of wampom in his hand, informs them that the terms are accepted. The treaty being thus concluded to the satisfaction of both parties, a hatchet



painted red, or a war-club, is buried in the ground, in token of a cessation of all hostilities. To denote the stability of peace thus concluded, they pronounce the following sentence: "Upon this hatchet we will plant a tree, which shall grow up and reach to heaven." All strings and belts, exchanged on the occasion, are carefully preserved by both parties, and serve as memorials of the transaction even at a distant period.

Similar ceremonies are observed when two or more tribes enter into any compact, or engagement, with each other. But, if the message is not received, the President of the Council does not accept the tokens of confirmation, but pushes them from him with his stick, and no one is allowed to touch them, except the person by whom they were brought.

In consequence of the long residence of Europeans among them, the religious notions of the Indians at the present day, probably differ in many respects from those of former times. The prevailing opinion now is, that there is one God, or as they call him, one great and good Spirit, who has created all things, and whom they represent as almighty, able to do as much good as he pleases, and mercifully disposed towards men, because he richly supplies their temporal wants. They are also fully convinced that God requires them to do good and abstain from evil. Besides the Supreme Being, they believe in good and evil spirits, considering them as subordinate deities. They seem to have had no idea of the Devil till the Europeans came into the country; but now they look upon him as a very powerful spirit, but unable to do good, and therefore call him the *evil one*. Thus they now believe in two Beings, the one supremely good, and the other altogether evil.

About the middle of the last century a great change took place in their religious opinions. Some teachers of their own nation pretended to have received special revelations from above, to have travelled into heaven and conversed with God. Though they differed considerably in their respective opinions, and advanced some very ridiculous and absurd notions, yet their discourses served to impress some great truths on the minds of the people. They asserted the distinction between the body and the soul of man, and taught the immortality of

the latter, and its abode in the next world, either in a place of happiness or misery, according to the conduct of the individual in the present life. To heathen their system of morals seemed severe, as they enjoined total abstinence from scandalous vices, and the necessity of being thoroughly cleansed from sin, before they could be admitted among the good spirits.

Sacrifices, made with a view to pacify the Divine Being and other subordinate deities, are among the religious ceremonies of the Indians. Some of them are of very ancient date and held most sacred; but they have neither regular priests nor temples. At public and solemn sacrifices the oldest men perform the sacerdotal office; and in their private expiations each man, bringing a sacrifice, officiates as priest. Instead of a temple, a large dwelling house is fitted up for the purpose. Most of their sacrificial festivities terminate with intoxication.

It cannot be said that rank polytheism, or gross idolatry, prevails among them. They have, however, a kind of idol which they call *Manito*, which is a man's head carved in wood. *Manitoes*, are likewise a kind of tutelary spirits, of which every Indian has one or more. Like other Pagans they easily become the dupes of various sorts of deceivers, who, practising upon the credulity of the people, only seek their own gain.

From the researches of our missionaries it appears that the Delaware and Iroquois are the two principal languages, spoken by the natives of North America, the Esquimaux excepted, and that the rest are only dialects of these. In things relating to common life, the language of the Indians is remarkably copious; but extremely defective in terms to express scientific, or religious subjects. They take no pains, as their knowledge enlarges, to enrich their language, but prefer expressing themselves in a figurative and descriptive manner. In general they show an aversion to learning; even the acquisition of reading, writing and arithmetic, requires too much application for them. Yet they are not defective in natural talents; some, who have long resided among the white people, have learned to work in iron, and can make axes and other tools, without having been regularly taught.

These introductory remarks may to some appear to have been

extended to rather too great a length; but as the manners of the Indians, in many respects, differ widely from those of other pagan nations, among whom the missionaries of the Brethren are labouring in the gospel, it seemed necessary to go a little more into detail on this subject, in order to render the subsequent history of the mission more intelligible. One additional remark will serve to explain the difficult situation of the Brethren during the contest between Great Britain and her American colonies. Wishing to maintain perfect neutrality they were, in turns, exposed to the displeasure of all the belligerent powers, whether English or French, Americans or Indians: and this circumstance was the principal, if not the sole, cause of the many migrations and cruel sufferings, to which they were subjected for a series of years.

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THE Trustees of Georgia having offered Count Zinzendorf a tract of land to be colonized by the Brethren; this offer was gladly accepted, in the hope that a way might thus be opened for preaching the gospel to the Creeks, Chickasaw and Cherokee Indians.

A number of brethren being found willing to engage in this undertaking, they left Herrnhut in November 1734, conducted by John Toeltschig and Anthony Seiffart, and being joined in London by Brother Spangenberg\*, arrived in America the following spring. The Trustees of Georgia accommodated them with houses in the town of Savannah, till they had cleared and cultivated a piece of ground and formed a settlement on the river Ogache. Their number being increased the following year by several new colonists, God blessed their endeavours in such a manner, that in a short time, besides maintaining themselves and assisting their neighbours, they were able to repay the money advanced for them in London. Among their neighbours they bore the character of peaceable, quiet and pious people, who were not seeking temporal advantages, but merely the salvation of the heathen.

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\* He had held the office of Theologus Adjunctus in the university of Halle in Saxony, and having joined the Brethren, was afterwards consecrated a bishop of their church.

In the hope of thereby attaining their object, they erected a house for a school on the island of Irene, in the river of Savannah, about five miles from the town. Many Indians resided on that island, and most of them understood some English. Here the missionaries, P. Rose and his wife, Seiffart and Biener took up their abode; preached to the Indians, and instructed their children. The Rev. Benj. Ingham, an English Clergyman, having come to Georgia, lodged with them for some time, and rendered them important services, particularly in studying the language of the Indians.

Their labours here, however, were soon interrupted. The Spaniards endeavouring to expel the English from Georgia, the Brethren were called upon to join the other colonists in taking up arms against them. This they refused, having before their arrival obtained a legal exemption from personal military service. But, as their refusal displeased the rest of the inhabitants, they repaid all the money advanced to them, left their flourishing plantations, and retired to Pennsylvania.

Being unwilling totally to relinquish this promising field of labour, they availed themselves of the offer of the Rev. G. Whitfield to assist him in his establishment in Georgia, and for this purpose sent brother John Hagen thither in 1740. But all the men of the Greek Indians having gone to the war against the Spaniards, he could not effect much, and therefore returned to Pennsylvania.

Brother Spangenberg had mean while visited Germany, and excited such a lively interest in the Indian mission, that several brethren resolved to venture their lives in this benevolent but arduous service. One of these, Christian Rauch, was immediately dispatched to New York, where he arrived in July 1740. Some pious people endeavoured to dissuade him from his intention, representing it as a fruitless and dangerous enterprise; but his zeal and confidence in God were not shaken.

Having heard that an embassy of Mahikans were in the city, he went in search of them, and to his great joy found that they understood the Dutch language. Their appearance was ferocious, and they were besides much intoxicated. When they had become sober, he addressed two of them, Tschoop and

Shabash, inquiring, whether they wished for a teacher to instruct them in the way of salvation? They approved of his proposal, and with due Indian solemnity declared him their teacher. At a subsequent interview arrangements were made for his removal to the Indian town SHEKOMEKO, about twenty-five miles east of North River, on the borders of Connecticut.

When Rauch arrived at the residence of these Indians they received him with great kindness, and listened to his first address with marks of serious attention; but, when he repeated his exhortations the next day, they derided his words, and openly laughed him to scorn. Not discouraged by their taunts, he was indefatigable in visiting them in their huts, testifying of the evil of sin and of the grace of God in Christ Jesus. On these occasions he had to encounter many hardships. He had neither the means to keep a horse, nor money to hire a boat, and thus suffered from the excessive heat and fatigue in travelling from one town to another; and he was not unfrequently denied admittance into their houses.

In a while, however, it pleased the Lord to open the ears and hearts of some of them. Tschoop, one of the two Indians whom he had met in New York, was the first who discovered any serious conviction of sin, and a desire to be instructed in the gospel. Soon after his companion, Shabash, was likewise awakened; and the work of the Holy Spirit in the hearts of these two savages strikingly evidenced itself. Their eyes overflowed with tears when the missionary conversed with them on the sufferings and death of our Redeemer and the efficacy of his atonement. They lamented their former blindness in worshipping dumb idols, and their ignorance of the true God and the way of salvation.

These proofs of the power and grace of God soon became public. The neighbouring Christians were roused and made attentive to the gospel. They desired the missionary to preach to them, and the Word was blessed to many. In this way he laboured for a whole year, never omitting an opportunity of beseeching and encouraging Christians and heathen to come to Jesus Christ.

But now some white people, conceiving their interests would be injured, if the Indians were converted to Christianity, stir-

red up the heathen against him, and even instigated them to threaten his life, if he did not leave the place. He therefore deemed it most advisable to remove for a while, and take shelter with a farmer. 'This man, at first, raised various objections against the conversion of the Indians; but when he observed the zeal and devotedness of the missionary, he offered him board and lodgings in his house upon condition that he should instruct his children, remarking: "We white people are as wicked and ignorant as the heathen."

In this family brother Rauch diligently discharged the duties of a schoolmaster; yet he neglected no opportunity of fulfilling his missionary calling. In the execution of the latter, however, he met with many difficulties and impediments. Some of the white people sought opportunities to maltreat him, even threatening to hang him; others tried to seduce the Indians to inebriety, that they might murder him in a drunken frolic. In short, they employed every artful means to prepossess their minds against him; so that even Tschoop and Shabash became mistrustful. To these wicked machinations he opposed a meek and peaceable deportment. He was prudent and cautious in all his steps, firmly confiding in his Almighty Protector, he acted with undaunted courage, praying for his enemies, and sowing the Word of God in tears.

By degrees his meek and humble behaviour, his perseverance and courage gained the admiration of the Indians, and changed their conduct towards him. He went frequently among them, ate and drank with them, and even lay down to sleep in their huts with the greatest composure. This latter circumstance, in particular, excited their astonishment. Tschoop once observing him asleep in his hut, confessed that he was mightily struck, and thought: "This man cannot be a bad man; he fears no evil, not from us who are so savage, but sleeps comfortably, and places his life in our hands." Being upon further reflection convinced of the falsehood of the charges brought against the missionary by the white people, he exerted himself to remove the prejudices of his countrymen; and he happily succeeded.

Having thus regained the confidence of the Indians, brother

Rauch was unremitting in his labours for their good, and had the joy to observe, that many were powerfully impressed by his discourses of the love of Jesus to sinners. But, in no instance did the Word reach the conscience with greater power, or more strikingly display its saving efficacy, than in the case of Tschoop. Before his conversion he was distinguished by every act of outrage and sin, and had even crippled himself by his debaucheries; but now the lion was tamed, and the slave of sin and Satan became a child of God and a preacher of righteousness. The account he once gave of his conversion, will best elucidate the striking change wrought in him. "Brethren," said he, "I have been a heathen, and have grown old amongst them; therefore I know how heathen think. Once a preacher came and began to explain to us, that there was a God. We answered, 'Dost thou think us so ignorant as not to know that? Return to the place from whence thou camest.' Then again another preacher came and said: 'You must not steal, nor lie, nor get drunk, &c.' We answered, 'Thou fool, dost thou think us ignorant of this? Learn first thyself, and then teach the people to whom thou belongest, to leave off these things. For who steal, lie, or are more drunken than thine own people?' And thus we dismissed him. After some time brother Rauch came into my hut, sat down and spoke nearly as follows: 'I am come to you in the name of the Lord of heaven and of earth: He sends to let you know that he will make you happy, and deliver you from the misery, in which you lie at present. For this end, he became a man, gave his life a ransom and shed his blood for sinners &c.' When he had finished his discourse, he lay down, fatigued with his journey, and fell into a sound sleep. I thought: What kind of man is this? There he lies and sleeps; I might kill him and throw him into the wood, and who would regard it? But this gives him no concern. However, I could not forget his words. They constantly recurred to my mind. Even when asleep I dreamt of the blood Christ shed for us. I found this to be widely different from any thing I had heard before; and I interpreted Rauch's words to the other Indians. Thus, through the grace of God, an awakening commenced among us. I say, therefore, brethren,

preach Christ our Saviour and his sufferings and death, if you would wish your words to gain entrance among the heathen.”\*

Count Zinzendorf, being come to America to inspect the various colonies and settlements of the Brethren in that quarter of the world, also visited this infant mission. On this occasion Tschoop, Shabash and two other Indians were admitted to the Church of Christ by baptism, as the first fruits of that nation. The Count made several journeys into the interior, whereby a friendly intercourse was established with some other Indian tribes. In one place he met with a numerous embassy of *Sachems*, or heads of the Iroquois, to whom he declared the purport of his visit. After about an hour's consultation, two of the ambassadors returned the following answer to the Count: “Brother, you have made a long voyage over the seas to preach to the white people and to the Indians. You did not know that we were here, and we knew nothing of you. This proceeds from above. Come, therefore, to us, both you and your brethren; we bid you welcome, and take this fathom of wampom in confirmation of the truth of our words.” A kind of league was thus made between the Brethren and the Iroquois, which was at that time of great importance, as they might have considerably obstructed the labours of the missionaries, had they been enemies.

SHEKÓMEKO now became a flourishing little town. More missionaries joined brother Rauch, endowed with the same patient fortitude, prudence, and ardent zeal, for the conversion of the heathen. The young converts were filled with joy and gratitude for the grace conferred upon them, testifying with a warm heart, both to white people and to Indians, of the love of God in Christ Jesus; and their Christian deportment evidenced the reality of their profession. The gospel found attentive hearers not only in the neighbouring villages, but many savages came from a distance of twenty miles to hear the *great word*, as they termed it, and were often so much affected during the sermon, that they wept all the time, and some even fell on

\* Lookiel, Part ii. p. 14. By comparing this relation with that of the conversion of the first Greenlanders, the resemblance will be found truly striking. See p. 26 and 30.



their faces, and by other expressive attitudes signified, how deeply the discourse had penetrated and humbled their hearts.

Meanwhile the other Indian nations were not wholly neglected. Besides the endeavours of Count Zinzendorf and the persons in his company, the Brethren at BETHLEHEM \* frequently sent some of their number to preach in the Indian towns in their vicinity, which were chiefly inhabited by Delawares. No immediate success attended these endeavours, except that the kind and affable behaviour of the brethren preposessed the savages in their favour, and thus paved the way for better things at a future period. These journeys were often attended with much fatigue and danger. On one occasion two brethren were obliged to pass through a forest, which had been set on fire, and to cross a large brook, which had overflowed its banks. But the God, whom they served, delivered them, and literally verified his promise: "*When thou passest through the waters, I will be with thee; and through the rivers, they shall not overflow thee: when thou walkest through the fire, thou shalt not be burned, neither shall the flame kindle upon thee.*" Isa. xliii. 2.

In externals the missionaries had to endure many difficulties and trials. The enmity of many nominal Christians against the work of God among the heathen had not wholly subsided. They met with much opposition, and Satan was continually instigating his emissaries to harrass and distress them. They lived and dressed in the Indian manner, so that in travelling they were often taken for Indians. As far as they could they maintained themselves by the labour of their hands, being assisted by the Brethren in BETHLEHEM only when their own resources proved insufficient.

As most of the Christian Indians, who visited at SNEKOMEKO, lived in PACHGATGOCH in Connecticut, at a distance of

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\* Bethlehem lies in Pennsylvania, and forms a regular settlement of the Brethren, such as Fairfield and Fulnek in England, and Gracehill in Ireland, and was originally built by colonists from Germany, being members of the Brethren's Church. To the minister, elders and warden of this settlement, called the *Elder's Conference*, the superintendency of the Indian mission was committed.

about twenty miles, they requested the magistrates to provide them with a preacher. Their petition being rejected, they applied to BETHLEHEM, when brother Mack and his wife were sent thither. They were received with great joy even by the heathen, who remarked that they must love them very much, to undertake so long a journey in winter. Mack likewise made a journey to *Potatik*, about seventy miles further in the country. In both places the Lord evidently blessed his labours. Many were awakened to a sense of their lost condition and their need of a Saviour; and six Indians were baptized at the latter place.

The congregation at SHEKOMEKO continued to increase not only in number but also in grace and knowledge; but hitherto the missionaries had been scrupulous of admitting any to the Lord's Supper. Now, however, they thought it wrong to debar them any longer from this holy ordinance. Having, therefore, given their converts the needful instruction respecting its institution and the blessings thereby conveyed to true believers, they admitted ten of the Christian Indians to partake with them of this sacred repast in March 1743; and their number was augmented each succeeding month.

In July the same year a new chapel was opened at SHEKOMEKO. It was thirty feet long and twenty broad, and entirely covered with smooth bark. This enabled them to regulate their meetings for worship better. On Sundays and other festival occasions SHEKOMEKO seemed all alive, and it might be said with truth that the believers evidenced their faith in Jesus both early and late. Many heathen visited the place; and once, when above a hundred were there, the missionaries observed, that wherever two or three were standing together, the love of God and the sufferings of Christ formed the subject of their conversation; and such was the zeal of the Christian Indians, that they often testified of Jesus to their countrymen till after midnight.\* At the request of the inhabitants the missionaries

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\* Mr. Weiser, a justice of the peace in Pennsylvania, bears a pleasing testimony of the grace prevailing at Shekomeko, in a letter written to one of the missionaries after he had visited that place. His words were: "The faith of the Indians in our Lord Jesus Christ, their simplicity and unaffected deportment, their experience of the grace procured for us by the suf-

drew up some rules for the regulation of their civil and social intercourse with each other, and for the promotion of good order in the settlement; and they had the pleasure of finding, that whenever any of their converts had been guilty of transgressing these rules, they were ready to acknowledge their misconduct, and to listen to advice and instruction. Thus every thing seemed to flourish at SHEKOMEKO; the number of baptized Indians, at the close of the year, amounted to sixty three, exclusive of those residing in PACHGATGOCH. Besides these they had a great many constant hearers, some of whom were under serious impressions of divine truth. Brother Mack and his wife now took up their residence at PACHGATGOCH and built themselves a hut of bark after the Indian manner. The wonderful effects, produced by the preaching of the gospel in this place, soon roused the attention of the whole neighbourhood. Some white people, who had been accustomed to make the dissolute lives of the Indians subservient to their own advantage, were exceedingly enraged, when they found them unwilling any longer to abet their wicked practices. They, therefore, resorted to every base artifice to seduce them, propagating the grossest calumnies against the missionaries; and as this did not succeed, they persuaded a clergyman of the Church of England to join in their measures. He ordered the Indians to send to New England for a minister and schoolmaster; but they replied that they were perfectly satisfied with the teacher they already had, and requested to enjoy the same religious liberty as all other denominations of Christians in the state did. This answer

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ferings of Jesus, have impressed my mind with a firm belief, that God is with you. I thought myself seated in a company of primitive Christians. They attended with great gravity and devotion; their eyes were steadily fixed upon their teacher, as if they would eat his words. John [Tschoop] was the interpreter and acquitted himself in the best manner. I esteem him as a man anointed with grace and spirit.—The text of scripture, *Jesus Christ the same yesterday, to day, and for ever*, appeared to me as an eternal truth, when I beheld the venerable patriarchs of the American Indian Church sitting around me, as living witnesses of the power of our Lord Jesus Christ and his atoning sacrifice. Their prayers are had in remembrance in the sight of God; and may God fight against their enemies. May the Almighty give to you and your assistants an open door to the hearts of all the heathen *Loskiel's, History of the Indian Mission, Part ii. p. 63.*

exasperated the adversaries still more. They publicly ~~stigmatised~~ <sup>stigmatised</sup> the Brethren as papists and traitors. The missionaries Mack, Shaw and Pyrleus, (the two latter being on a visit in PACHGATGOCH,) were taken prisoners, and dragged up and down the country for three days. The governor of Connecticut having fully investigated the allegations brought against them and found them false, they were honourably dismissed. However, as their enemies still continued to harass them, they thought it most prudent to retire for a while to SHEKOMEKO.

Not to mention several visits, paid about this time to other Indian tribes, it should be here observed, that while, on the one hand, the missionaries had to suffer many hardships and much opposition, they met, on the other, with many proofs of the power of the gospel in "turning the gentiles from darkness unto light, and from the power of Satan unto God." In one place, a most savage Indian publicly burned his idols, and in a speech, delivered to his countrymen, lamented his former blindness and ignorance with great energy, and exhorted them to turn to the Lord Jesus.

Hitherto, though exposed to various vexations, they had not met with any serious interruption to their labours; but in the spring of 1744 a violent persecution was raised against them. Some white people continued to employ every artful means to alienate the affection of the Indians from the Brethren, and to seduce them to drunkenness and other vices. They circulated the basest insinuations against the missionaries, representing them as dangerous to the state, pretending that they were in league with the French, and intended to supply the savages with arms to fight against the English. This report, false as it was, spread such terror through the country, that the inhabitants of the neighbouring town of Sharon, remained under arms for a whole week, and some even forsook their plantations. The missionaries were now called upon to serve in the militia; but this they refused on the ground that as ministers of religion, they ought not to be compelled to bear arms. A second application to the same effect being likewise resisted, they were for several months dragged from one court to another, to be examined and answer to the allegation brought against them.

They punctually, though with very great inconvenience to themselves and their work, obeyed every summons, and were enabled to disprove, by unimpeachable evidence, every charge brought against them. At the same time they protested against the restriction laid upon them in the prosecution of their missionary calling, and avowed their firm resolution rather to suffer any thing for conscience' sake, than disobey God and the lawful authority of the state. The magistrates were satisfied, dismissed them with every mark of respect, and, as a protection against the machinations of their enemies on their return to SHEKOMEXO, they gave them an honourable acquittal in writing.

Their adversaries, finding their scheme frustrated, resorted to other measures. Knowing the conscientious scruples of some of the missionaries against taking an oath, they exerted all their influence to obtain two Acts of Assembly in New York, which were passed in October; the one enjoining all suspicious persons to take the oaths of allegiance, and, in case of refusal, to be expelled the country; the other positively prohibiting the Brethren from instructing the Indians. December the 15th, the sheriff and three justices of the peace arrived at SHEKOMEXO and, in the name of the governor and council of New York, prohibited all religious meetings, commanding the missionaries to appear before the court in *Pickipson*, on the 17th of that month. On their appearance, the Act was read to them, by which they were expelled the country, under the old pretence of being in league with the French.

The injustice of this Act was acknowledged by every candid and unprejudiced person. Bishop Spangenberg, who visited this settlement towards the close of the year, makes the following remarks in his journal: "The nearer we approached to SHEKOMEXO, the more veneration we found among all ranks of people for the great work of God in that place. The justice of the peace at Milsy accompanied us, and declared that he would rather suffer his right hand to be cut off, than treat the Brethren conformably to the Act passed against them, for he was thoroughly convinced, that the grace of God had, by their means, wrought miracles in that place."\*

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\* Loskiel, Part ii. p. 64.

The missionaries, however, deemed it not only prudent, but their duty, to obey the lawful authority of the state, and therefore retired with a heavy heart, to BETHLEHEM in Pennsylvania, yet they preserved unshaken confidence in the Lord, that he would himself defend their cause and arise for the help of his oppressed people.

After their removal from SHEKOMEKE, the Christian Indians continued their religious meetings as usual, and were occasionally, though at the risk of persecution, visited by brethren from BETHLEHEM. Once when a large company was returning to BETHLEHEM, the circumstance of the wife of one of the missionaries being an Indian woman furnished some ill-disposed justices at Sopus with a pretext for detaining them. They were insulted by the mob, and had to suffer much in the open street from cold and violent rain, and, when at length permitted to proceed, they were loaded with curses and reproaches. On another occasion two brethren were arrested at Albany, and, after enduring many indignities, taken to New York and confined in prison for seven weeks.

Amidst the grief, experienced in consequence of these disastrous events, the missionaries were greatly comforted by perceiving that their labour was not in vain in the Lord. Soon after their expulsion from SHEKOMEKE they had the joy to baptize a man and his wife, the first fruits of the gospel among the Delaware nation. This solemn transaction was performed at BETHLEHEM. Both of them belonging to the family of the Chief, their relations were highly displeased, considering the step they had taken as a disgrace to their rank, and, in order to seduce them to apostacy, invited them to their houses; but the two baptized persons, fearing their souls might suffer harm, declined the invitation. Upon this their relations resolved to take them by force, and thirty six, among whom were several young warriors, came to BETHLEHEM, with this intention. At first they behaved in a very turbulent manner, but, being kindly treated, their anger abated, their countenances softened, and they even entered into conversation with their baptized friends and other Christian Indians. Gottlieb, one of their baptized relatives, gave them a plain account of his reasons for joining

the Christians, exhorting them also to believe in the Lord Jesus. During this conversation the savages seemed extremely uneasy, and early the next morning set off on their return. After some time they sent a message to Gottlieb, desiring him to come and instruct them. With this he complied, and had the satisfaction to see his own brother become a believer, and by baptism join the Church of Christ.

Although the state of things at SHEKOMEKO was such as to afford sincere pleasure, yet the suspension of the regular services of the missionaries could not but eventually prove injurious to the congregation. It was, therefore, proposed to the Christian Indians to remove from the province of New York, and settle near BETHLEHEM, till a more eligible spot could be procured for their future establishment. But, contrary to expectation, the inhabitants of SHEKOMEKO shewed themselves averse to this measure, and, among other reasons, alledged, that the governor of New York had expressly commanded them to stay in their own town, promising them his protection; and that, were they even to remove, some of their relations, especially the young, would still remain there and be easily seduced to their former sinful practices. An event, however, occurred soon after, which induced them gladly to accede to the proposal of the Brethren. Some white people came to a resolution to expel the Christian Indians by main force, under pretence that the ground on which SHEKOMEKO stood, belonged to other people. The governor of New York not attending to their petition for his interference these white people seized upon the land and appointed a watch to prevent all visits from BETHLEHEM. The old accusations of disloyalty were renewed, and gained so many supporters, that the inhabitants of Reinbeck demanded a warrant of the justice to kill all the Indians at SHEKOMEKO. Though the warrant was not granted, yet the situation of the people there became so very distressing, that they were glad to emigrate.

Ten families of these emigrants, consisting of forty-four persons, arrived at BETHLEHEM in April 1746. They immediately built some huts near the settlement, as a temporary residence, to which they gave the name of FRIEDENSHUETTEN.

But as an Indian town could not be supported so near to BETHLEHEM, the Brethren purchased two hundred acres of land, lying at the junction of the rivers Mahony and Lecha, about thirty miles distant. This situation pleased the Indians, and they immediately began to plant, and lay out a town, calling it GNADENHUETTEN. The building of this place was attended with considerable expense and much trouble. The land, being overgrown with wood, had first to be cleared, and the Indians having neither knowledge nor skill in agriculture, the heaviest part of the labour fell upon the missionaries; but they cheerfully endured every fatigue, considering it as done in the service of the Lord.

When intelligence of this new settlement reached SHEKOMEXO and PACHGATGOCH, many Indians in those places were induced to remove to it, so that, in a short time, it contained more inhabitants than the two former; and soon became a regular town. The church stood in a valley; on one side, upon rising ground, were the Indian houses, forming a crescent, and on the other the mission-house and the burying-ground. Every Indian family had a plantation. The road to Wayomick and other Indian towns lay through the settlement.

In SHEKOMEXO the prospect appeared daily more precarious. The Indians in league with the French, having made inroads into the country, had advanced within a day's journey of that town, setting fire to the houses and murdering the inhabitants on their way. By these circumstances, and being called upon to join in the war, the Christian Indians, still remaining in that place, were kept in constant fear and anxiety. The Brethren could not come to their assistance till in July 1746, when Hagan and Post went thither from BETHLEHEM. It was now found necessary to give up every idea for holding meetings for divine worship in that place, but the chapel was, by a deed of gift, secured to the Indians as their property. Thus the Brethren with sorrowful hearts, yet praising God, who had first caused the light of the gospel to shine to the heathen in this place, concluded their labours at SHEKOMEXO. Within the space of two years sixty-one adults had been made partakers of holy baptism; exclusive of those baptized at BETHLEHEM.



During the troubles in SHEKOMEKO various disorders had occurred among the converts. Some had been seduced to join in sinful practices, and others, through the calumnies of adversaries, had imbibed prejudices against the missionaries. The Brethren, however, had the joy to find, that most of them became sensible of their errors, and with sincere penitence confessed their deviations. Such penitents were received with open arms at BETHLEHEM and GNADENHUETTEN. As an example of the figurative manner in which the Indians generally express themselves, the language of one of these penitents may be quoted: "I am like a child," said he, "whose father loves him dearly, clothes him well, and gives him all he stands in need of; afterwards the child becomes refractory, deserts his parent and despises his counsel. At length, the child, through his folly loses all the good things he possessed, his clothes become ragged, and nakedness and want follow. Then remembering how well he fared, he repents and weeps day and night, scarcely presuming to return. This is precisely my case."

The Indian congregation at GNADENHUETTEN continued for several years in a pleasing course, and increased to about five hundred persons. Besides other useful regulations, schools were established. The place was often visited by heathen, who were treated with hospitality and kindness, and no means were neglected for directing their attention to the gospel. Nothing, in general, made a deeper impression upon the savages, than the peace and harmony prevailing among the Christian Indians, and their contentment amidst all difficulties. The sincerity of their profession evinced itself in many ways. They diligently attended to their work and the cultivation of their fields, and when necessary for their support went out to hunt. Their firm confidence in our Saviour shewed itself in many trying circumstances. Thus, when the small pox broke out among them, they bore the sickness with patience, manifesting but little fear of death; and the cheerful and happy disposition of those, who departed this life, was truly edifying. Their solicitude for the Christian education of their children was another proof of the change wrought on their minds. Such is the excessive fondness of the Indians for their children, that they

hardly ever suffer them to be out of sight; but now many of them, seeing the temptations to which they would be exposed at home, entreated the Brethren, even with tears, to receive them into the schools at BETHLEHEM; a request willingly acceded to whenever it was possible.

The labours of the Brethren for the conversion of the Indians at this period, were not confined to GNADENHUETTEN. They improved every opportunity that offered for propagating the gospel, and undertook many difficult and perilous journeys. The Iroquois more particularly engaged their attention, to gain entrance among them they made several visits to *Shomokin* and other towns on the Susquehannah, and by degrees established themselves there. The inhabitants of Shomokin being noted for ferocity and licentiousness, the missionaries witnessed many barbarous and profligate scenes, and were more than once in danger of being murdered by the intoxicated natives. During a journey to Onondago, the chief town of the Iroquois and the seat of the great Council, a solemn league, executed with due Indian formalities, was made between the Council and the Brethren, by which the latter obtained permission for two of them to reside in that country for the purpose of learning the language. But no permanent advantages were gained by all these exertions.

Their endeavours in other places were more successful, especially at *PACHGATGOCH* and *Wechquetank*, in the neighbourhood of *SHKROMEXO*, where a few Christian Indians, who had not emigrated with the rest, were still residing. The missionary David Bruce was appointed to this station in 1748; and the year after had the pleasure of seeing twenty Indians added to the Church by baptism. But that very year he finished his earthly pilgrimage, being succeeded by brother Abr. Buninger. This little flock enjoyed rest and peace for several years, and increased to upwards of a hundred in number.

*Maniagomakah*, situate at no great distance from BETHLEHEM, was another promising station, occupied during this period, where many of the inhabitants became obedient to the gospel. In a few years, however, the white people seized upon their plantations; and as the Brethren could not succeed in

making a purchase of the land, their converts were obliged to remove to GNADENHUETTEN in 1754.

In the summer of 1752 an embassy of Nantikoks and Shawanose, consisting in all of one hundred and seven persons, arrived at GNADENHUETTEN, and formed a solemn league of friendship with the Brethren. Another embassy of these tribes, attended by three Iroquois Indians and consisting of twenty-two persons, came to GNADENHUETTEN the following spring, and, to the no small astonishment of the Brethren, proposed to them to quit that settlement and remove to *Wayomik*, a town belonging to the Shawanose. They assigned no particular reason for this unexpected proposal. It appeared, however, in the sequel, that it was in reality an act of friendship. For as the savages were secretly determined to join the French in hostilities against the English, they wished to furnish a safe retreat to their countrymen of GNADENHUETTEN, that they might the more easily fall upon the white people in those parts. In this view the Iroquois had called the Nantikoks from *Wayomik* into their neighbourhood, to make room for the Christian Indians.

However unpleasant the projected removal was, the Brethren would not interfere in the business, lest the old calumny of intending to enslave the Indians should be revived, and, therefore, left their converts to act entirely as they pleased. After evincing considerable reluctance at quitting their pleasant settlement, and real sorrow at being thus separated from their teachers, upwards of eighty finally determined to remove to *Wayomik* and *Neskopeco*. After their arrival in these places, they were occasionally visited by some of the missionaries, who found these poor exiles still walking in the fear of God, and that, by their zealous testimony of Christ and his atonement, they were made a blessing to their heathen countrymen. But their external situation was by no means desirable. All the people, residing on the Susquehannah, were in constant fear and terror both of the Catawas and the French. The former being at war with the Iroquois, who made frequent incursions into the country, and the latter threatening the Indians with fire and sword, unless they acted in concert with them against the English. Besides this, the people of New England, who laid

claim to *Wayomik*, were advancing with an intention of seizing the land by force. These circumstances obliged the Indians in 1756 to forsake that town.

The missionaries were still lamenting the emigration of so many of their converts from GNADENHUETTEN, when their sorrow was unexpectedly turned into joy, by the arrival of the Indians from *Meniolagomekuh*. This enlivened the congregation at GNADENHUETTEN, and animated the native assistants with new zeal and fidelity in the discharge of their duties. Their external troubles, however, did not yet terminate. They had not only a kind of tax imposed upon them, to show their dependence on the Iroquois, but the following very singular message was sent them: "The great head, i. e. the Council in Onondago, speak the truth and lie not: they rejoice that some of the believing Indians have moved to *Wayomik*, but now they lift up the remaining Mahikans and Delawares\*, and set them down also in *Wayomik*; for there a fire is kindled for them, and there they may plant and think on God: but if they will not hear, the great head will come and clean their ears with a red-hot iron (meaning they would set their houses on fire) and shoot them through the head with musquet-balls." The Chief of the Shawanose, who delivered this message, then turned to the missionaries, earnestly demanding of them not to hinder their converts from removing to *Wayomik*.

This message spread general consternation through GNADENHUETTEN, especially the concluding address to the missionaries. It was soon discovered, that this proposal did not originate in the great Council at Onondago, but with the Oneida tribe and the warlike Mahikans and Delawares, aided by some persons of consequence in Philadelphia, who thereby hoped to obtain some sinister end they had in view. The Brethren left the inhabitants of GNADENHUETTEN to their free choice, whether to go or stay, only warning them, in an affectionate manner, of the dangers to which their souls might be exposed by their removal. This warning was addressed to them not without good reason, as some of the baptized had

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\* The inhabitants of Gnadenhuetten belonged to these nations.

lately relapsed into heathenism, and even become the seducers of others. The address had the desired effect. Most of those, whose conduct had been blameable, ingenuously owned their transgressions, begging forgiveness of the rest: which was granted with joy. The grace of God was, perhaps, never more evident, than in seeing an Indian, naturally obstinate and inflexible to a high degree, appear before a whole body of people as an humbled sinner, and ask pardon of God and those whom he had offended. Thus most of them resolved to stay, and they remained firm to their resolution. When, shortly after, the message was repeated in a more stern tone, an Indian brother said: "What can the Chief, of the six nations give me in exchange for my soul? They never consider, how that will fare at last." Another remarked: "God who made and saved me, can protect me, if he please; I am not afraid of the wrath of man; for not one hair of my head can fall to the ground without *His* will." And a third observed: "If even one of them should lift up his hatchet against me and say, 'depart from the Lord, and the Brethren,' I would not do it."

The congregation at GNADENHUETTEN had now a short season of rest, and, walking in the fear of the Lord and the comforts of the holy Ghost, was edified. The Brethren improved this interval of repose for sending missionaries to preach and administer the sacraments to the Christian Indians residing in other places, and for propagating the gospel among the heathen. These journeys were attended with many dangers; but they thought themselves richly compensated by finding their converts in most places walking worthily of the gospel, and by the accession of new members to the Church.

The repose at GNADENHUETTEN was of short duration. A cruel Indian war, occasioned by the contest between the English and French, broke out, spreading terror and confusion through the whole country. The first outrage was committed near *Shomokin*, where three of the missionaries resided, but through the mercy of God they were all preserved, though exposed to continual danger. The inhabitants of GNADENHUETTEN were not so fortunate. Being considered as friends to the British government, they were in the most imminent danger

of being attacked by the Indians, in league with the French, and as the most dreadful reports reached them from all quarters, some were so much intimidated, that they fled into the woods. The greater part, however, staid in the settlement, resigned to the will of God, giving the most encouraging assurances, that they would not forsake each other, but remain united in life and death.

But God had otherwise ordained. Late in the evening of the 24th of November, 1755, while the missionaries were at supper, their attention was suddenly roused by the continual barking of dogs, which was followed by the report of a gun. On opening the door of the mission-house, they observed a party of hostile Indians standing before the house with their pieces pointed towards the door. On its being opened they immediately fired, and Martin Nitschman was killed on the spot. His wife and some others were wounded, but ran up stairs into the garret and barricaded the door with bedsteads. Hither the savages pursued them; but, not being able to force open the door, they set fire to the house, which was soon enveloped in flames. Two of the brethren had previously made their escape by jumping out of a back window; and now a boy leaped down from the flaming roof, though not till one of his cheeks had been grazed by a ball and his hand much burned. Sister Partsch, whose husband had escaped out of the window, likewise ventured to leap down from the burning roof. Unobserved by the enemies she hid herself behind a tree on rising ground, from whence she had a full view of the tragical scene. Brother Fabricius, in attempting to make his escape in the same manner, was perceived by the Indians, and instantly wounded by two balls. They then seized him, and having dispatched him with their hatchets, took his scalp and left him dead on the ground. Eleven persons, belonging to the mission, were burned alive, among whom was a child only fifteen months old. Sister Senecman, already surrounded by the flames, was heard to exclaim: "*'Tis all well, dear Saviour! I expected nothing else.*" The murderers now set fire to the barns and stables, by which all the corn, hay and cattle were consumed; and, having made a hearty meal, they departed.

This melancholy occurrence proved the deliverance of the Christian Indians; for, upon hearing the report of guns, seeing the flames and learning the dreadful cause from those who escaped, they offered to attack the enemy without delay; but, being advised to the contrary, they all fled into the woods, and the settlement was thus in a few minutes, cleared of its inhabitants. By the exertions and persuasions of the missionary, Shebosh, who alone remained at GNADENHUETTEN, most of the fugitive converts returned the next day. They now hoped to remain in safety, as, in consequence of a petition, presented by the Brethren at BETHLEHEM, the governor of Pennsylvania sent a party of soldiers into these parts, for the protection of the Christian Indians and the country in general. But on new year's day 1756 the savages attacked these troops, set fire to the settlement, and laid waste all the plantations; by which both the congregation and the missionaries were reduced to the greatest poverty.

Disastrous as were these events, they served to avert a far greater calamity. The adversaries of the Brethren had secretly formed a design of overthrowing their whole establishment in North America. The most unfounded reports of their being in league with the French were industriously disseminated, and a base fabrication, purporting to be a letter written by a French officer, was inserted in the Newspaper, in which he was represented as saying, that "the Moravians were their good friends and would give them every assistance in their power against the English." A general suspicion was thus excited against the Brethren throughout the country, which went so far, that in the Jerseys proclamation was made, with beat of drum, that BETHLEHEM should be destroyed; and the most dreadful threats were added, that in BETHLEHEM, GNADENHUETTEN and other places, a carnage should be made, such as had never before been heard of in North America. It was afterwards ascertained, that a party of a hundred men, who came to BETHLEHEM, was sent for the express purpose of raising a mob: but the kind and hospitable manner in which they were treated by the inhabitants, who were ignorant of their design, overcame their malice and softened their

rage. It was not, however, till after the burning of GNADENHUETTEN that the public sentiment respecting the Brethren underwent a complete revolution. Their adversaries were now convinced of the falsehood of the charges brought against them, as *they* were the first sufferers from the French. Many exclaimed even with tears: "How greatly have we sinned against an innocent people! What should we have had to answer for, had we followed our design of exterminating the Brethren and murdering their men, women and children, on the vague supposition that they were our enemies."

After the destruction of GNADENHUETTEN, a few of the Indian converts fled to *Wayomik*, which place they reached in safety; but the greater part flocked to BETHLEHEM, where they were lodged, clothed, and fed with brotherly kindness. But this very circumstance rendered the situation of our Brethren there peculiarly critical. The savages on the one hand, insisted upon their taking up arms against the English, threatening to murder them in case of refusal. On the other hand, a set of fanatics arose, who demanded the total extirpation of *all* the Indians, lest God's vengeance should fall upon the Christians for not destroying the Indians, as the Israelites were commanded to do in the case of the Canaanites. These people were greatly incensed against BETHLEHEM, on account of the protection and assistance, which were there granted to a race of beings, whom they considered accursed. The inhabitants of BETHLEHEM, therefore, looked upon themselves as sheep ready for slaughter; and never knew, when going to bed at night, whether they would rise the next morning.

In this critical and alarming situation they preserved unshaken confidence in God. Their courage in maintaining their station proved a comfort and protection to their neighbours; for, if they had fled, nothing could have obstructed the inroads of the savages. But, while they firmly relied on the help of the Lord, they neglected nothing that might tend to their safety. The settlement was surrounded by pallisades, and guarded, both night and day, by Europeans and Indians. This precaution proved the means of preserving the settlement, while many adjacent villages were laid in ashes.



The firmness of the Brethren and their good political regulations, induced great numbers of their distressed neighbours to take refuge with them. Several hundred women and children came from a distance, and with tears begged for shelter. All were admitted as long as there was any room; and thus not only BETHLEHEM, but the four contiguous settlements of NAZARETH, CHRISTIANSBRUN, FRIEDENSTHAL, and the ROSE, were crowded with fugitives. Though, in consequence of the war, their own resources were greatly exhausted, the Brethren exerted themselves to the utmost of their power to provide for their numerous guests. Thus wonderfully did the wisdom of God overrule passing events. The very people, who were but lately suspected of a secret correspondence with the enemy, now became the protectors and defenders of those, who through ignorance had aspersed their character and meditated their destruction.

Under the wings of BETHLEHEM the Indian congregation now enjoyed a season of repose. Some additional temporary dwellings were erected for them; the schools commenced anew and were diligently attended, and three missionaries were appointed for their immediate service. Portions of the Scripture, the litany and several hymns were translated, and the children often met together and in the German, Mahikan, and Delaware languages sang the praises of God their Saviour. Thus BETHLEHEM assumed the appearance of a missionary settlement. Amidst much external poverty and distress the grace of God ruled in the hearts of its inhabitants; and both the Indian converts and the original European colonists *shewed forth the praises of Him, who had called them out of darkness into his marvellous light.\**

The residence of the Indians at BETHLEHEM, however, was attended with various difficulties; both the missionaries and the Indians themselves, therefore, wished to have a settlement of their own. Application being made to the governor, he readily acceded to this measure; and in June 1757 a piece of land was assigned them, about a mile from BETHLEHEM, on

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\* See History of the Brethren's Church. Vol. I. p. 381, &c.

which they erected a town, and called it NAIN. Most of the Christian Indians, who, during the late troubles, had moved to Wayomik, or fled to the Susquehannah, now sought permission to live at NAIN; and thus this new settlement rapidly increased. Numbers of savages visited both NAIN and BETHLEHEM, and the testimony of Christ and his atonement, seconded by the pious conversation of their Christian countrymen, proved in many instances the means of conversion.

This period of difficulty and trouble was succeeded by four or five years of peace and tranquillity. After the burning of Fort Duquesne by the French, the scene of the contest was changed, and from the beginning of the year 1759, neither Pennsylvania, nor the neighbouring provinces, were disturbed by the Indians. Thus all the settlements of the Brethren in this district enjoyed rest and prosperity; and so rapidly advanced in the esteem of their neighbours, that those, who formerly had been their bitterest enemies, and even sought their entire expulsion, were now, in general, pleased with their forming establishments in their vicinity.

The Indian congregation at NAIN increased so fast, that it was found expedient to purchase fourteen hundred acres of land behind the Blue Mountains, in order to form an additional settlement. The building of this place, called WRECHQUETANK, was begun the following spring.

About this time David Zeisberger, accompanied by an Indian brother, undertook a journey to *Machwihusing* on the Susquehannah, a report having reached the Brethren, that the Indians in that place had been in a remarkable manner stirred up to inquire the way of truth, and were very desirous of obtaining a teacher to instruct them. When the travellers approached the town they found this report confirmed. For being met by one of the inhabitants, he informed them, that their Council had assembled six days successively, to consider how they might procure a teacher of the truth. Under these favourable circumstances Zeisberger and his companion entered the town, and were received with general demonstrations of joy, being lodged by Papunhank\*. In the evening all the inhabitants

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This Indian had for some time set up for a preacher of morality among

met, and the missionary and his companion, through greatly fatigued with their journey, testified to them of the grace of God till midnight; and resumed their labours by five o'clock the next morning, the people being eager to hear the *great word*, before they began their daily occupations. The result was, that upon a regular application from the heads of families to our Brethren at BETHLEHEM, brother Zeisberger was appointed to reside among them.

But, while rejoicing at the favourable reception given to his testimony of the gospel, events occurred, which rendered his recal to BETHLEHEM necessary. Intelligence had been received, that the Indians had commenced fresh hostilities near the Canadian lakes and on the Ohio, where they had murdered several hundred settlers, and renewed their incursions into Pennsylvania. From this a repetition of the dreadful scenes in 1755 was apprehended.

The settlements of WECHQUETANK and NAIN were now placed in the most critical situation. One alarming report after another reached them, which made it needful to keep up a constant watch during the night. The Christian Indians, however, resolved to take no part in the contest, any further than defending themselves against the savages. Under these circumstances the Indian brethren showed great faith and courage. One of them remarked: "Wicked people are as weak as worms in the sight of our Saviour: he can and will protect us, and cause fear to fall upon the wicked." His words were verified on the very next day, being the 9th of October 1763;

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his people; but as his instructions had no influence, either on himself or his hearers, in changing their profligate conduct, the latter began to doubt whether his doctrines were true. Having afterwards himself visited Nain, heard the gospel and been present at a baptism, he was so overcome, that he burst into tears and exclaimed: "O God! have mercy upon me, and grant that the death of my Saviour may be made manifest unto me." On his return he thus addressed his countrymen: "My dear people, I have told you many good things, and pointed out what I considered a *good* way; but I have now learnt, that it was not the *right* way. If we wish to be saved, we must look to that Saviour, whom the Brethren preach." He was the first in Machwihilusing that was admitted to holy baptism, and by his conduct and conversation evidenced that a real change had taken place in him.

for, on that day about fifty white men assembled on the opposite side of the Lecha, with a view to surprise NAIN in the night, and murder all the inhabitants. But, a neighbouring friend representing in strong terms the danger and difficulty of such an attempt, the enemies abandoned their design and returned home.

The same day, on which NAIN was in such imminent danger, a party of Irish freebooters came to WECHQUETANK, intending to murder all the Indians there, whom they accused of being accomplices in a late murder committed in their colony. No remonstrances of the missionary could restrain their fury, till he at length pacified them by presents, and by plentifully supplying them with meat and drink. Upon this they quietly quitted the settlement, not however, without repeating their threats to return and execute their barbarous design; unless the Indians would soon remove from that place. During the succeeding night all the men were upon the watch, as several spies were lurking about the settlement, and a fire at some distance betrayed a neighbouring encampment. The Brethren, therefore, apprehended a sudden attack, which was probably prevented by violent rain, that fell during the night.

It now became sufficiently evident, that it would be extreme temerity to postpone their flight any longer; especially as a messenger just then arrived from BETHLEHEM with the most pressing solicitations to the Indians to break up immediately, and retire to the settlement at NAZARETH.\* While preparing for their departure, they were suddenly alarmed by the report of several musquets. The Christian Indians, supposing that the savages had attacked the white people, resolved to go and defend them. But the missionary dissuaded them from this, exhorting them to stand by each other and expect deliverance from God. "Very true," replied one of them, "only don't you stand before me, but go behind, for I will be shot first." The party, from whom the attack was apprehended, suddenly marched off with the Indian war-hoop; and it was afterwards discovered, that the firing proceeded from a party of soldiers.

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\* Nazareth, like Bethlehem, was a colony of European brethren and sisters.

Thankful for having escaped this danger, the whole congregation left WECHQUETANK on the 11th of October, and arrived the next day in safety at NAIN, where they were welcomed with joy, and provided with every comfort and accommodation, which their circumstances required.

In the mean time NAIN was closely blockaded. The savages continued to lay waste the country and murder the neighbouring settlers. This increased the fury of the latter against the Indians, so that the inhabitants of NAIN could no longer venture to go to BETHLEHEM, but were obliged to employ a European brother to transact their business. No Indian even ventured to fetch wood, or look after his cattle, except he was accompanied by a white brother, or had a passport in his pocket. Even at home the men were forced to keep strict watch, both day and night. In this trying situation they remained for four weeks ; but the peace of God and brotherly love ruled among them, and supported their courage and patience.

Having made such regulations for defence, that the enemy could not attempt an attack without danger, they flattered themselves that government would have assisted them. But very unexpectedly affairs took a different turn. Renatus, a harmless Indian, was suddenly apprehended as the murderer of one of the Irish settlers, and his person being sworn to by the widow of the deceased, he was conveyed to Philadelphia, and imprisoned. The news of this occurrence rapidly spread through the country, and enflamed the rage of the settlers against the Indians. The inhabitants, therefore, expected nothing but the most cruel treatment.

In this dreadful emergency God appeared for their help, and by inclining the chief magistrate to afford them protection, rescued them from the hand of their enemies. November the 6th an express arrived from Philadelphia, with an order from government, that all the Christian Indians from NAIN and WECHQUETANK should repair to that city, where they would be protected on delivering up their arms. This measure was indeed very painful to the Indians; who declared they would rather die than leave their teachers. But, being assured that the missionaries would not forsake them, they cheerfully acqui-

escaped. And when the sheriff arrived, they delivered their arms to him with a composure of mind, which strikingly evidenced the change wrought in them through the gospel, for a heathen Indian would rather part with his head than with his gun.

The Indians of NAIN having joined their Christian countrymen of WECHQUETANK, who had previously removed to NAZARETH, the whole company set out on their pilgrimage in the afternoon of the 8th of November, accompanied by the missionaries Grube, Schmick, David Zeisberger and John Rothe with the wives of the two former, under the conduct of the sheriff, who cared for them like a father. It was a most affecting sight to behold these people, among whom were many aged, infirm and sick, besides pregnant women and young children, proceeding patiently along the road, ignorant of their future fate. Though waggons were provided for the sick, the aged, and the children, yet they suffered much from fatigue and other hardships, and still more from the malice of some settlers, who abused and loaded them with curses.

Having on the 11th of November arrived at Philadelphia, they were ordered to be lodged in the barracks ; but, notwithstanding the positive order of government, the soldiers forcibly refused them admittance. The poor Indians were kept standing in the street for five hours. A mob soon collected, who derided, reviled and charged them with all the outrages committed by the savages, threatening to kill them on the spot, which they would no doubt have done, had the Indians returned evil for evil. The zealous interference of the missionaries, in behalf of their beloved converts, exposed them to the most imminent danger from the fury of the populace.

The magistrates at length interposed, ordering them to proceed six miles further to Province Island in the river Delaware, where they were lodged in some large buildings. In passing through the city, thousands followed them with such tumultuous clamour, that they appeared like sheep among wolves. Here they settled as well as circumstances would permit, and regulated their daily meetings for worship, which proved a great comfort to them. Several gentlemen in Philadelphia, especially some Quakers, humanely interested themselves in their behalf, and

they were kindly supplied by government with whatever they needed.

They had not been here long when intelligence was received, that WECHQUETANK had been burnt by some of the settlers, and that some incendiaries had endeavoured to set fire to BETHLEHEM, and actually laid the oil-mill in ashes, the adjoining water-work having been with great difficulty saved from destruction. The Brethren, therefore, were truly thankful, that the Christian Indians had found a safe retreat in Province Island; and their gratitude was increased when they were informed of an act of horrid cruelty, committed by some white people, calling themselves Christians. Fifty-seven of these barbarians attacked a party of peaceable Indians in the village of Canestoga near Lancaster, and murdered fourteen of them in their huts. The rest fled to Lancaster, where the magistrates lodged and protected them in the work-house, a strong and well secured building. But the white savages pursued them, marched into the town at noon day, broke into the work-house, and, though the Indians on their knees begged their lives, they inhumanly murdered them all, and threw their mangled bodies into the streets. They then departed with a dreadful shout of victory, threatening that the Indians in Province Island should share the same fate.

So general and inveterate was the rage of the white people, and such the state of anarchy and insubordination in the country, that in defiance of every proclamation from government, they boldly avowed their determination to massacre all the Christian Indians. This induced the government to send them by way of New York to the English army. Late in the evening of January 4th, 1764, they received orders to this effect, and before midnight embarked in some boats, proceeding by water to a place about five miles from Philadelphia, which city they reached almost unobserved early in the morning. The commissary, Mr. Fox, having kindly supplied them with blankets, and provided waggons for the aged, the sick and the children, and for the heavy baggage, they set out accompanied by the missionaries. The pressure of the immense crowd, which had collected, was so great, that they could hardly proceed; the

mob in the most shocking manner cursed and reviled them ; but, being escorted by a company of seventy Highlanders, no one ventured to lay hands on them. In every town, through which they passed, they were insulted by the populace ; but God mercifully prevented serious mischief, and in about a week they safely reached Amboy, where two sloops lay ready to carry them to New York. They were just preparing to embark, when very unexpectedly strict orders arrived from the governor of New York, that no Indian should set foot on that territory ; and even the ferry-men were prohibited, under a severe penalty, from conveying them across the river.

They were now lodged in the barracks at Amboy, waiting for further orders. Here they held their daily meetings ; and, as great numbers of strangers attended, divine service was performed in the open air. Their devotion and good behaviour excited general admiration, and many conceived a more favourable opinion of them. A soldier once said : " Would God, that all the white people were as good Christians as these Indians."

Orders having meanwhile arrived from Philadelphia for their return to that city, the Indians cheerfully obeyed, confident that the Lord, in his inscrutable wisdom, had directed their toilsome peregrinations for some gracious purposes. This journey was often rendered peculiarly dangerous in crossing the frozen rivers, the ice not being every where sufficiently firm. Their daily meetings, which they never suspended during their travels, were attended by many white people with astonishment and edification.

Having safely reached Philadelphia on the 24th of January, 1764, they were for security lodged in the barracks, and attended by a military guard day and night. As the fury and number of the mob still increased, the magistrates were obliged to adopt more serious measures. The guard was doubled, eight pieces of cannon were planted before the barracks, and a rampart thrown up in the middle of the square. The citizens, some of whom were young Quakers, took up arms and repaired to the barracks in defence of the Indians. Twice the rebels prepared for an attack, but being fully informed of the mea-



sures of defence taken by government, abandoned their murderous design. Upon this some gentlemen were deputed to inquire into their complaints. After much insolent behaviour they asserted, that there were several murderers among the Christian Indians, whom they had seen at Pittsburg, and demanded that they should be delivered up. To pacify them, one of the ringleaders was admitted into the barracks; but after very strict examination of all the Indians, he did not find an individual chargeable with the smallest crime. Another allegation, that the Quakers had secreted six of them, proving equally unfounded, tranquillity was finally restored.

During their residence in the barracks, which lasted rather more than a year, they regularly held their meetings for religious worship, which on Sundays were frequented by such crowds of people, that the chapel could not contain them: yet the greatest silence and order were preserved, and in several instances the gospel was accompanied with saving power. At stated times they observed the ordinance of the Lord's Supper, and some were admitted to holy baptism. The missionary Grube even commenced an English school, and the Indian youths took great delight in learning. Though the visits of strangers were occasionally attended with inconvenience, yet they tended to convince many ill-disposed persons of the innocence of the Indians and their true conversion to God.

To the Indians, however, their present situation was a severe trial, and to some even more afflicting than all their past dangers. The superior quality of their victuals, to which they had not been accustomed, was no more conducive to their health, than the want of exercise and proper employment was congenial to their minds and habits. Their close confinement became insupportable and revolting to their notions of independence and liberty. This was especially the case with the young people; some grew low-spirited, others dissatisfied and even refractory; and many suffered harm by their intercourse with the unconverted Indians, quartered in the same barracks. This caused the missionaries much grief and perplexity, being on the one hand obliged to hear all the complaints of the dissatisfied, and on the other hand aware that government justly

looked to them for the maintenance of good order and subordination. As summer advanced fevers and the small-pox broke out amongst them, which occasioned such terror, that many meditated their escape from the barracks. But God so evidently blessed the endeavours of the missionaries, that their uneasiness was changed into perfect resignation to the will of the Lord. No less than fifty-six persons departed this life, many of them, not only with composure, but in full assurance of eternal glory.

Among the Christian Indians, lodged in the barracks, none had a harder fate than one, called Renatus. This poor man had been thrown into prison upon repeated accusations on oath, that he was the murderer of Mr. S. in the Irish settlement. During his confinement, which lasted eight months, three of his nearest relations died by means of the infectious disease, rife in the barracks. When informed of this he burst into tears and exclaimed: "This is almost too much to bear; to lose my father, my wife and my child, while I myself am confined in prison." The missionaries frequently visited him in his cell, where he spent his time in reading and prayer. His trial took place at Easton, and, after a most patient investigation of the evidence adduced on both sides, the jury returned a verdict of *not guilty*; upon which he was immediately set at liberty. This decision was of great benefit to the missionary labours of the Brethren, as it entirely frustrated the aim of their enemies, to cast an odium upon the believing Indians and render the mission generally suspected.

Hostilities having at length terminated and peace being restored, the directors of the mission lost no time in endeavouring to obtain an eligible place for a settlement for the Christian Indians, and for this purpose preferred the country on the banks of the Susquehannah. The government readily acceded to their proposal, permitting them to leave the barracks, and liberally supplied them with all necessaries. Mr. Fox even procured a grant, by which they were provided with flour from the time of their arrival on the Susquehannah, till their new planted Indian corn should be ripe. Before their departure the Indian brethren delivered an address of thanks to the

governor, for the kindness he had manifested towards them, which was signed by four in the name of the rest, and graciously received.

March 20th, 1765, they left the barracks in Philadelphia and commenced their journey, resting a few days at NAIN and BETHLEHEM. The animosity of the white people not having yet wholly subsided, they were obliged to take a very circuitous route, which rendered the journey tedious and difficult. The road lay through extensive forests, frequently without a path, so that they had to cut their way for miles through the woods, and to ford many rivers. The men generally waded through, and constructed rafts for the women and children. Some rivers were so broad and deep, that they were obliged to encamp on the banks till they had built a sufficient number of canoes to cross them. In some places they were obliged to unload the waggons, and carry the luggage over high, steep and craggy hills. When they halted in the evening, every family erected a hut for the night, keeping up a large fire. All the fatigue and toils of the day were forgotten, when at night, they assembled in the open air, round a large fire, to return thanks to the Lord for his mercies during the day, and supplicate his protection for the night. Their greatest difficulty arose from the want of provisions, whenever they passed through a territory which afforded neither game nor fish. Those who had any thing in store were always ready to divide with the rest. Their whole stock of flour being at length consumed, it was a truly affecting sight, to see them receive their last portion. They occasionally found wild potatoes, and hunger overcame the unpleasant taste of these roots. At other times they peeled chesnut trees, and sucked the juice oozing out under the bark, which is very sweet, and was particularly palatable to the children. Frequently they had no other drink than muddy water found in puddles. One night they were greatly terrified, the woods being on fire, and burning with great fury round their encampment till one o'clock in the morning. Some died by the way, in consequence of these various hardships. Having, after many toilsome wanderings, reached the Susquehannah, they got a few boats, some sailing up the river and others

travelling along its banks, and arrived at *Machwihiluring* on the 9th of May, after a journey of five weeks.

Having fixed on a convenient spot for a settlement, they immediately began to erect a town, which, when completed, consisted of thirteen Indian huts, and upwards of forty houses built of wood in the European manner, besides a dwelling for the missionaries. In the middle of the street, which was eighty feet broad, stood a large and neat chapel. The adjoining ground was laid out in gardens, and between the town and the river, about two hundred and fifty acres were divided into regular plantations of Indian corn. The burying-ground was situated at some distance at the back of the buildings. Each family had its own boat. To this place they gave the name of FRIED-ENSHUETTEN.

This new settlement soon assumed a very flourishing appearance. The inhabitants were industrious, and dwelt together in peace and unity. Many Indians visited the place, admiring the fine situation and the good order maintained in the town. But, what afforded the missionaries the greatest delight, was the salutary impression which appeared to be made on some, so that the number of the congregation was rapidly increasing, which in less than two years rendered the erection of a larger chapel necessary. Indeed the change observable in the believing Indians was so striking, that the heathen visitors were not unfrequently constrained to confess; "that the words of the Brethren must be true, for otherwise it would be impossible that the mere belief of them should make their converts willing to deny the world and every ungodly lust, and at the same time be so serene and cheerful in their looks and behaviour."

This pleasing and tranquil course was occasionally interrupted by the unbecoming behaviour of some of the heathen visitors, and still more by the white traders, who dealt chiefly in rum, and often came to the settlement for the purpose of traffic, occasioning much levity and dissipation among the young people. The missionaries, not wishing to have the appearance of usurping any jurisdiction over the Indians, left it to the native assistants and heads of families, to whom the

police of the town was committed, to adopt such measures, as might prevent this evil in future. And their exertions in this respect in a great measure succeeded.

In autumn 1767 the missionary Zeisberger and two of the Indian assistants made a journey to the Ohio, intelligence having been received, that some Indians in that part of the country were desirous of hearing the gospel. Their intention was first to visit *Goshgoshuenk*, though they every where received the most unfavourable accounts of its inhabitants. On this journey they had to encounter many difficulties, having to travel through an extensive wilderness.

Their road lay partly through the territory of the Delawares, and partly through that of the Seneka Indians. On reaching the first town, inhabited by the latter, the appearance of a white man was so unusual a sight, that one of the inhabitants immediately rode off to announce his arrival to the Chief of the next town, a distance of nearly thirty miles. Having arrived at this place the Chief, taking Zeisberger for a spy, at first treated him rather roughly; but, won by his conciliatory and affable manner and the disinterestedness of his views, he became very friendly; and conducted him to his house. Zeisberger seized this favourable opportunity to preach the gospel to him; but the Chief declared with great warmth, that this Word of God was not intended for the Indians. He however, granted them permission to proceed to *Goshgoshuenk*; adding a serious caution against trusting the people of that place, who had not their equals in wickedness and cruelty.

Not intimidated by this and similar reports, but rather considering the profligacy of the place the most cogent reason for visiting it, they prosecuted their route and reached it in safety. They soon found, that the reports they had heard were but too true. Zeisberger remarks, he had no where seen the abominations of heathenism practised in such a horrid and shameless manner as in this place; it seemed to be the very seat of Satan. Notwithstanding the crying wickedness of the inhabitants, the missionary and his companions were well received, and their doctrine, by its novelty, so engaged the attention of the inhabitants, that they could not hear enough of it, and requested

the Indian brethren to repeat and explain it to them more fully. Before their departure the Indians assembled a Council, and Zeisberger asked them, whether they would permit a teacher to reside among them? To this they gave their unanimous consent, and even requested him to promote the attainment of so desirable an object.

His journey proving thus far encouraging, the Brethren resolved to attempt the establishment of a regular mission at *Goshgoshuenk*. In order to effect this, the brethren Zeisberger and Senseman, together with some Indian families, moved thither in the following spring. Immediately on their arrival Zeisberger sent information of it to the Chiefs, who exhorted their people to listen to the Word of God with attention. He held regular morning and evening devotions, and preached every day. These meetings were attended by great numbers, whose behaviour was silent and decorous, and manifested an eagerness to hear.

Soon, however, a violent opposition, originating in the jealousy of the Chiefs, was raised against the missionaries. It was augmented by the most ridiculous and unfounded accusations being propagated against the Brethren; and it at last rose to such a pitch, that they threatened to kill both them and their converts. This intimidated even those who had hitherto been their friends.

Notwithstanding these alarming appearances, the missionaries resolved not to quit their post; but built a small house, as a place of retirement, where they might celebrate the Lord's Supper and hold other meetings with the Christian Indians, their present habitation being seldom free from visitors. Their labour was not wholly in vain. Not a few attended their meetings, and some heard the gospel with saving effect. Several indeed came only by night, fearing the reproach of men; for those, who went boldly to the meetings, were abused and persecuted in various ways; and in some instances the words of our Saviour were literally fulfilled: *a man's foes shall be they of his own household*. Matt. x. 36. At length the inhabitants of the town were divided into two parties; one of which opposed the gospel with all their might, and the other became

so much attached to it, that they declared, they would rather emigrate, than be deprived of it. These were exposed to the hatred of the opposite party, who branded them with the names of *Sunday Indians* and *Shwonnaks*, i. e. white people, the latter being the most opprobrious epithet they could apply. This, however, did not deter them from their attendance on the meeting.

However, as the opposition did not abate but rather increased, the missionaries thought it prudent to retire to a place on the opposite bank of the river, called *Lawunakhannek*, about fifteen miles distant from *Goshgoshuenk*. Here they formed a temporary settlement, being followed by all those Indians, who had sincerely embraced the gospel. In process of time they had the pleasure of admitting several to holy baptism, among whom was an aged Chief, who had lost his sight. By degrees the hostility against them subsided, and in a Council held at *Goshgoshuenk* a great majority declared in favour of the gospel. This rendered their situation more tranquil and easy, a different spirit prevailed, and the desire of the Indians to "know the grace of God in truth" increased.

Among the places, which were visited by the missionaries from FRIEDENSHUETTEN, was a town about thirty miles higher upon the banks of the Susquehannah, called *Tshechshequanmink*, in which a great awakening took place, occasioned by the accounts concerning FRIEDENSHUETTEN brought by those who had visited there. At the request of the inhabitants, the missionary Rothe went to reside among them. His testimony of Jesus was accompanied with great power, the audience being frequently melted into tears, which is very unusual among the Indians, as they consider it unmanly to shed tears. One of them remarked: "I would not have wept, if my enemies had cut the flesh from my bones: that I now weep is of God, who has softened the hardness of my heart." For some time it appeared as if the whole town would turn to the Lord and be converted.

The tranquillity, enjoyed for a season, was again interrupted in 1770. The Seneca Indians having broken the treaty, lately made with the Cherokees, hostilities commenced in the

neighbourhood of Lawunakhannek. This rendered the Christian Indians desirous of removing, and they therefore resolved to accept the kind offer, repeatedly made to them by some Chiefs, to settle near the Delaware town of Kaskaskunk.

In April the missionaries and their whole flock embarked in sixteen canoes, passing down the river Ohio by Pittsburg to the mouth of the Beaver Creek, which they entered, proceeding up the falls, where they had several times to unload, and transport their goods and canoes by land. On one of these carrying places they were detained two days. After a tedious and troublesome journey of a fortnight, they reached the place allotted to them by the Chiefs. No spot could have been better chosen, as there was good land, sufficient to support a hundred families. They immediately began to build and plant, and called the place FRIEDENSTADT.

The Indians in the neighbourhood were astonished to see a people settle among them, differing so much in their manners and customs from the other natives, and to hear them propagate a doctrine so contrary to any thing they had ever heard before. In some this astonishment soon changed into animosity and opposition, especially when the Chief of Kaskaskunk moved to the settlement. This so enraged the adversaries, that they annoyed the inhabitants in every possible way, disseminating unfounded calumnies. They even forged messages in the names of the Chiefs, ordering them to quit the country. These impostures being detected, some of their own teachers violently opposed the doctrine taught by the missionaries, asserting, that emetics were the only infallible remedy to cleanse a man from sin. The missionary endeavoured to convince them, that though an emetic might benefit their stomachs, it could never cleanse their hearts. Some malicious savages came late one evening to FRIEDENSTADT, tempting the inhabitants to get drunk. Finding all their efforts ineffectual, they threatened to murder first the missionaries and then the whole congregation, and made such a hideous noise, that the women fled into the woods, and the men were forced to keep strict watch round the mission-house.

While harassed by these external troubles, the missionaries had abundant cause to praise God for the divine power which



rested on their ministry in the gospel. The number of hearers at FRIEDENSTADT rapidly increased. Among these was a man belonging to the party, who had destroyed the mission-house on the Mahony in 1755, and who was often so much impressed by what he heard, that he shed floods of tears. In another of their hearers the effect produced by the gospel was still more striking. This was the Chief, Pakanke, hitherto an enemy and opposer, but whose sentiments, during a visit at FRIEDENSTADT, were so completely changed, that he listened to the gospel with great attention; which produced such a change in him, that he became a believer himself, and even exhorted his children to go to the Brethren, and believe in the Lord Jesus. Among the baptized members of the congregation the peace of God, brotherly love and a real desire to love the Saviour and cleave to him with purpose of heart, prevailed. Their conduct and conversation became increasingly conformable to their Christian profession, and they greatly valued their high and heavenly calling. In the children likewise the missionaries observed many astonishing evidences of the work of the holy Spirit, in "perfecting praise out of the mouths of babes and sucklings." And the awakening among the catechumens was general and solid, and exhibited a sincere desire to obtain grace and the remission of sins in the blood of Christ.

In the mean time they received certain information, that the Iroquois had clandestinely sold the land, on which FRIEDENSHUETTEN stood, to the English, though they had formally ceded it to the Christian Indians in 1765. This involved that settlement in new troubles. They therefore resolved to quit that place, and to seek another residence.

Early in June 1772 the whole congregation, consisting of two hundred and forty-one persons, left FRIEDENSHUETTEN; some of them travelling by land, but the greater part by water. The difficulties attending the emigration of so many people, with all their goods and cattle, in a country like America, is almost incredible. The party, who went by land, had to care for seventy oxen and a still greater number of horses, and sustained inconceivable hardships in forcing their way through very thick woods and swamps, directed only by a small path, in some

places hardly discernible. They had to ford many rivers, being in one part of the country obliged to wade thirty-six times through the windings of the Munsy. The difficulties of those who went by water were not less. They were every night obliged to seek a lodging on shore. In some places they were molested by inquisitive, and in others, by drunken people. The many falls and dangerous rapids in the Susquehanna occasioned much trouble and frequent delays. To add to their difficulties, the measles broke out among them soon after their departure, of which many, especially children, fell sick, and some died. Both companies having at length met, they pursued their journey by land. Arrived on the banks of the Ohio, they built canoes, for conveying the aged and infirm with the baggage down the river; and in a few days the whole party reached FRIEDENSTADT, and were most cordially welcomed by the Christian Indians there, who united with them in solemn praises to God for their safe arrival, after a tedious journey of eight weeks.

It was not, however, the design of the Indians to fix themselves permanently at this place; but to proceed to the banks of the Muskingum, and occupy a piece of ground, which had been allotted them by the Council of the Delawares. The Council had passed a formal resolution, that this tract of land, which was of considerable extent, should exclusively belong to the Christian Indians, and no others be permitted to settle upon it; and that all Indians, dwelling on its borders, should be ordered to behave peaceably towards the missionaries and their converts, and neither disturb their worship, nor prevent any from attending the preaching of the gospel. Zeisberger had visited this place early in the spring, and found it in all respects an eligible situation for an Indian town, having an excellent spring, a small lake, a fine soil, plenty of game and every other convenience. It lies about seventy-five miles west of FRIEDENSTADT, and nearly at the same distance south of lake Erie.

Five families of Christian Indians had in May removed to this place and begun the erection of a settlement, giving it the

name of SCHOENBRUNN. They were now joined by those who had emigrated from FRIEDENSHUETTEN.

About this period the prospect at FRIEDENSTADT became more and more alarming. The repeated encroachments of the savages occasioned much perplexity, and the pernicious consequences of the rum-trade became at length insupportable. The savages frequently brought a quantity of spirits close to the town, got intoxicated and behaved like madmen, committing various acts of mischief and outrage, even threatening to kill the missionary. It was solely owing to the restraining hand of Providence, that they did not execute their barbarous purpose. At one time a ruffian furiously rushed into the house where the missionary lay sick, but, on seeing the fellow come in, he raised himself and looked at him with undaunted composure. This completely disconcerted the savage, he stopped short, and the Indian brethren, hastening to the assistance of their teacher, easily secured him. These unpleasant occurrences seeming to admit of no alleviation the inhabitants resolved, though much against their inclination, to forsake the place, and move into the neighbourhood of their brethren on the Muskingum, where they arrived after a journey of three weeks. Here they established a colony, about ten miles below SCHOENBRUNN, which they called GNADENHUETTEN.

During the building of these two settlements Zeisberger, accompanied by two Indian brethren, made a journey into the country of the Shawanose, who were generally considered the most savage of all the Indian tribes. They were, however, kindly received by the Chief, and lodged in the house of one of the heathen teachers. This man, being informed by the missionary that the object of their journey was to preach the words of eternal life, replied: "This is what we want, and we will hear you with pleasure." Having for several days attentively listened to the discourses and conversation of the missionary and his companions, the heathen teacher made the following remarkable declaration: "I have not been able to sleep all night, for I am continually meditating upon your words, and will now open to you my whole heart: I believe that all

you preach is truth. A year ago I became convinced, that we are altogether sinful creatures ; and that none of our good works will save us : but we did not know what to do to gain eternal salvation. I have, therefore, always comforted my people, that some person would come and show to us the true way to happiness, for we are not in the right way ; and even the day before your arrival, I desired them to have but a little patience, and a teacher would certainly come. Now you are come and I verily believe that God has sent you to make his word known to us." The Council having formally declared their wish, that the Brethren would come and reside among them, the travellers, filled with gratitude to God for this hopeful prospect, returned to SCHOENBRUNN. The more poignant was their sorrow, when, on repeating their visit the next year, they met with so much opposition and hostility, as fully convinced them, that as yet no missionary establishment could be formed here.

About this time new troubles interrupted the tranquillity of the congregations at SCHOENBRUNN and GNADENHUETTEN. Besides the continuance of petty wars among the Indian tribes, the white settlers in Virginia were obliged to fly to arms, to defend themselves against the savages. This rendered the year 1774 a period of great perplexity and confusion to the two settlements. For many months the inhabitants had hardly a single day of rest. Numerous troops of warriors passed through, some upon murdering expeditions, others with scalps and prisoners, uttering frequent menaces that both places should be surprised and laid waste. Owing to their enmity against the white people, the missionaries in particular were in the most imminent danger. One terrifying report after another was flying through the country. They were frequently so much alarmed, that canoes were kept in constant readiness, in case sudden flight should become necessary. The women were more than once driven from the plantations at noon-day ; and all the inhabitants were, for days and weeks, confined to their houses, as several parties were strolling about the neighbourhood, for the purpose of seizing stragglers. At length the Indians were compelled to submit and make peace, and thus tranquillity was restored.

The missionaries found great reason to rejoice that, amidst all these troubles, the two congregations continued to flourish. They had not once been obliged to omit the stated preaching of the gospel, and the number of their hearers was often so large, that the chapel at SCHOENBRUNN, though capable of accommodating five hundred, proved too small. Among the strangers, who attended, there were many warriors, and the impression made on some was such, that, though they returned home for a time, they could not rest till they obtained leave to reside with the Christian Indians. Even one of the heathen teachers was so struck with conviction of the truth of the gospel, that he took up his abode in the settlement. One of the Chiefs likewise embraced Christianity; was baptized, and became a zealous witness of the doctrines of grace among the very people, whose Chief he had been. And the Indian, appointed his successor, declined the honor intended for him, choosing rather to be an humble follower of Christ, than to occupy the highest and most honourable rank among his countrymen.

During the war, there was a striking contrast between the conduct of the Christian Indians and the savages. While the latter neglected every thing, the former, though exposed to many interruptions, continued to plant their fields, boil sugar, and follow their various avocations with their usual diligence. God blessed the labour of their hands, so that they could assist those that were needy, and even provide many of the warriors, who marched through their village, with food and other necessities. This led a captain to remark: "I have found your people very different from what I had heard. It was reported in our town, that when a strange Indian arrives with you, he is sent to make his fire in the wood, and gets nothing to eat. I now hear the contrary from all who have visited you, for they have all been fed and lodged. In other places they make wry faces at us, here men, women, and even children bid us welcome."

By this time, the Christian Indians had in a very great degree gained the confidence and esteem of their pagan neighbours; so that even some of the Captains and Chiefs interested themselves in their behalf, demanding that they should enjoy

perfect liberty of conscience, and be protected in their possessions against every intruder. This was formally ratified by an act of the Council in the name of the whole Delaware nation ; in which they gave full permission to any of their people, who were so disposed, to go and hear the gospel. This act was shortly after renewed, and accompanied with an urgent request on their part, that the Brethren would form a third settlement.

This proposal was readily agreed to, and they fixed on a spot on the east side of the Muskingum, to which they gave the name of LICHTENAU. In April 1776 the missionaries Zeisberger and Heckewaelder, with eight families of Christian Indians from SCHÖENBRUNN, moved to this new settlement. It soon increased in number and extent, by the accession of many heathen, who became obedient to the gospel. The number of inhabitants in the three settlements on the Muskingum amounted now to four hundred and fourteen persons, and, as they lay at no great distance from each other, a pleasing intercourse was constantly kept up between them, which contributed not a little to the encouragement of the missionaries, and the edification of their converts.

This prosperity of the mission received a sudden check, in consequence of the rupture between Great Britain and her colonies. By this time the contest had risen so high, that the disturbances it occasioned reached to the Ohio and the Muskingum. The Brethren indeed determined to take no part in the war, yet they were placed in the most critical situation, as their very neutrality served to render them suspicious in the eyes of each of the belligerent powers, and threw a general odium upon their character and conduct.

During the consecutive commotions the Chiefs of the Delawares firmly adhered to their resolution not to interfere with the war. But a tribe of that nation, the Monsys, secretly separated from the main body and formed an alliance with the Mingoes, a set of idle thieves and murderers. They endeavoured to gain a party among the enemies of the mission, and even ventured into the settlements in order to decoy some of the inhabitants to join them, in which they were but too successful. They found a party of apostates, who seemed intent upon over-

throwing Christianity and replacing paganism in its room. This was the severest stroke the missionaries had yet met with, and occasioned them far more poignant grief, than all their former sufferings. They spared no pains, which love could dictate, to recover these poor backsliders from this snare of the devil; but all in vain. It afterwards appeared, that the Monsys and the apostate party had nothing less in view, than either to murder the missionaries, or convey them to Fort Detroit; the firmness of the Delawares in maintaining peace being ascribed to the influence of the Brethren on their Council. And when this attempt did not succeed, they spread the false, though probable report, that the missionaries and their congregations were daily in danger of being surprised and murdered by the Huron warriors:

Rather, therefore, than enter into a dispute with so dangerous an enemy, they resolved to abandon SCHOENBRUNN, and move to LICHTENAU. They now found the contiguity of this settlement to the Indian town of Goshachguenk of essential advantage, as they could not have defended themselves against the insults of the warriors, had they not met with constant support from the Chiefs and Council of that place. A part of the fugitive congregation settled at GNADENHUETTEN.

In August 1777 intelligence reached LICHTENAU, that two hundred Huron warriors, headed by one of their Chiefs, called by way of distinction the Half-king, were on their march to that place. This caused considerable alarm; but after mature consideration the missionaries resolved, to betray no symptoms of fear, but rather seek to conciliate their favour by kind treatment. No time was lost to prepare provisions for them; and the liberality of the Christian Indians, on this occasion, was the more remarkable, as they considered it the only means of saving the lives of their beloved teachers. The warriors expressed no little surprise and pleasure on being met by a party from LICHTENAU, bringing provisions for them. This put them into very good humour; and the Christian Indians did not neglect to improve this favourable opportunity; but sent a formal embassy to the Half-king and the other Chiefs of the Hurons, informing them that they had embraced Christianity,

and now wished to live in peace with all men ; and therefore requested protection and safety for themselves and their teachers. This message was well received by the Half-king, and he exhorted the Christian Indians to obey their teachers, attend to their worship, and not to mind other affairs ; promising that no one should molest or hurt them.

While these negotiations were pending, the inhabitants of LICHTENAU were not without serious apprehensions, being uncertain what turn affairs would take. The deputies had, therefore, agreed that should the Half-king speak in an angry tone, they would immediately despatch a messenger to the settlement, thereby affording time to the congregation to take flight before he had concluded his speech. The greater, consequently, was their joy, when the embassy terminated so favourably.

Thesame day the Half-king, attended by the chief Captain and eighty-two warriors visited LICHTENAU. They were so amply supplied with provisions, that they were able to carry a considerable quantity home with them. Similar visits were repeated in the sequel : and sometimes more than two hundred warriors of different nations took up their night-quarters close to the settlement, and behaved so quietly, that their presence was hardly perceived. For the Half-king maintained strict discipline, and took every precaution to prevent drunkenness, being well aware that this would terminate in bloodshed and murder. He was so pleased with the reception he and his retinue had met with, that he took the missionaries by the hand and called them *father*, desiring that they would consider him and his people as *children*. He even sent messengers to the English government in Detroit and to the Chiefs in the Huron country, informing them of the alliance made with the Christian Indians, adding, that he and his warriors had acknowledged the white brethren to be their father, and would ever own them as such. The maintenance of so many warriors, however, was attended with considerable expense and trouble ; the inhabitants of the settlement, therefore, were glad, when towards the end of August they finally removed from that part of the country.

The situation of LICHTENAU and GNADENMUETTEN now be-



came every day more dangerous. It was, therefore, deemed expedient to lessen the number of missionaries, leaving only one in each of the settlements. As the distance between the two places was only twenty miles, they kept up, as far as possible, a regular intercourse, and in travelling through the country found the friendship made with the Hurons of great advantage. Yet they saw little before them but perplexity and distress. Various terrifying reports were in circulation, which rendered it necessary for the two congregations to hold themselves in constant readiness for a precipitate flight. Canoes were provided and a place of rendezvous appointed; and one night they actually fled, in consequence of a report, that the enemy was approaching. Fortunately this proved a false alarm; and after spending a day together in the place of rendezvous, the two congregations could return in peace to their respective dwellings.

Every part of the country now exhibited scenes of the most dreadful cruelty. The Hurons, who were in league with the English, committed the most horrid murders and ravages on the white people and their plantations, and the Americans treated the Indians with little less ferocity. It was a melancholy spectacle to see the savages drag along men, women and children, whom they had made prisoners, and many of whom were severely wounded, and carry dead bodies and scalps, as trophies of victory, through the settlements. The Christian Indians showed the prisoners all the compassion and attention in their power, and would never suffer them to be scourged, or otherwise abused, while in the place, as is the custom in other Indian towns. Among the prisoners a venerable old man, and two youths, more particularly excited their pity. When the warriors arrived with them in their own town, the two youths were tortured and burnt to death. The old man was condemned to suffer the same punishment, but, receiving timely information, he effected his escape. Some of the Christian Indians found him in the woods, almost dead, having had nothing but grass to eat for fourteen days. They brought him to LICHENAU, where he was well cared for, and after regaining his strength they sent him to Pittsburg. The governor of that place acknowledged the conduct of the Indian congregation to have

been of real benefit to the whole country, and that the fury of the warriors had been considerably mitigated by the example and influence of their Christian countrymen.

Hitherto the Delawares had firmly adhered to their resolution to take no part in the war ; at length, however, they were induced to join the English against the Americans. Their friendship for the missionaries and the Christian Indians was now changed into enmity, considering them, on account of their peaceable disposition, as a check to their conduct. The Council unanimously resolved, that the hatchet should fall on the head of every one who refused to accept it ; and as the Indians in league with the Americans formed a similar resolution, our congregations were placed between two cruel enemies, and saw nothing before them but inevitable ruin. The missionaries, in particular, were exposed to the most imminent danger, as it was ascribed to their authority and influence, that the young men in our settlements had declined the challenge, repeatedly sent by the Delaware Chiefs, to take up arms. The savages, therefore, reiterated their threats, that the missionaries should be either killed or made prisoners, flattering themselves, that if *they* were removed, the Christian Indians would soon be forced to comply.

But God knew how to preserve his servants ; and his guardian care over them was often displayed in a most striking manner. Repeated attempts to carry them prisoners to Fort Detroit were frustrated. At one time brother Shebosh got between two parties, who were in pursuit of each other, and did not know his danger till after his escape. The preservation experienced by Zeisberger was still more singular. Being on a journey, with two Indian brethren, he was met by a white man, who headed a murderous party of eight Mingoes and a prisoner. As soon as he observed the missionary, he called out to his party : " Here is the man we have long wished to secure ; do now as you think proper." The Mingo captain shook his head and, after asking a few questions, walked off. The English indeed acknowledged, that the missionaries had done no harm, but were even useful in civilizing the Indians ; yet they wished to carry them away prisoners, being persuaded

that if *they* were removed, not only the Delawares but many other tribes would join the army.

It has already been mentioned, that SCHOENBRUNN was forsaken by the faithful part of the congregation, almost at the very beginning of these troubles ; and as they were now chiefly felt at GNADENHUETTEN, it was deemed expedient to remove that congregation also, and to concentrate the whole mission at LICHTENAU. This was effected in April 1778 ; and, in order to make room for this increase of inhabitants, several new houses were built, and the chapel was enlarged. In the sequel, however, it appeared, that this settlement was too much crowded. A resolution was, therefore, taken in 1779, to rebuild SCHOENBRUNN, though not on the same spot, but on the opposite bank of the Muskingum. And as LICHTENAU, which had hitherto been the safest place, now became more and more exposed to the outrages of the heathen, the missionaries in 1780 deemed it necessary to quit this place also, and to erect a new settlement at the distance of about twenty miles, which they called SALEM.

Amidst all the disturbances, occasioned by the daily marches of warriors through the settlements, the Christian Indians did not lose their courage ; and these very troubles led them to cleave more steadfastly to the Lord and seek help from *him*. The grace of God was sensibly felt in all their meetings, great numbers of heathen Indians attended the preaching of the gospel ; and the emotion was frequently so general, that the preacher had to stop in his discourse, as the loud weeping of his audience overpowered his voice. Many were baptized, and some, who had been baptized in other communities, were received as members of the Brethren's Church. The assistants were peculiarly zealous and successful in bearing testimony of the truth to their countrymen. For this purpose they made frequent visits to the neighbouring towns. A great awakening likewise took place among the young, as yet unbaptized children, who with tears begged for admission to this holy rite. Such was the powerful influence of the gospel in the congregation, that the members not only loved each other with a pure heart fervently, but extended their charity to their worst ene-

mies, constantly praying for them, and doing them every kind service in their power. The apostate part of the congregation, who left SCHOENBRUNN, was more particularly the object of their prayers. They were graciously answered; for most of these poor, deluded people returned, like the prodigal son, earnestly begging for pardon and re-admission. This was granted in presence of the whole congregation, whose tears of compassion and joy, on these occasions, realized the words of Christ: *Love your enemies, bless them that curse you, and do good to them that hate you; and pray for them which despitefully use you and persecute you.* Matt. v. 44.

By these means the new settlement in SALEM soon began to flourish; and, notwithstanding the pressure of the times, the bounty of God so richly provided the inhabitants with food and raiment, that they could supply the wants of many of their starving and suffering countrymen.

Our Indian congregations now enjoyed a season of rest, seldom witnessing any thing of war, except that troops sometimes marched through the settlements. But this happy tranquillity terminated in less than a year, and new scenes of unprecedented distress commenced. The English governor at Fort Detroit, influenced by the calumnies of the adversaries, began to entertain a suspicion, that the Christian Indians were partisans with the Americans, and that the missionaries acted as spies. In order to rid himself of such troublesome and dangerous neighbours, he sent a message to the Iroquois and several other tribes, to take up the Indian congregations and their teachers and carry them away. But these tribes declined acceding to the proposal. A similar message was then sent to the Half-king of the Hurons. This man, instigated by the Delaware Captain, Pipe, a sworn enemy to the mission, at length agreed to commit this act of injustice; declaring at the same time, that he only did it with a view to save the Christian Indians, whom he had formerly treated with every mark of friendship.

In August 1781 a troop of warriors, amounting to upwards of three hundred, commanded by the Half-king the Delaware Captain, Pipe, and an English Captain, made their appearance, and fixed upon GNADENHUETTEN, as the most conveni-

ent place for holding a consultation with the Christian Indians. At this meeting the Half-king and his retinue put on the mask of friendship, and proposed their removal as a measure dictated by regard for their safety. This proposal the Christian Indians declined, promising, however, to consider their words and return an answer the next winter.

The Half-king would probably have been satisfied with this answer, had not the English officer and Captain Pipe urged him to persevere. The consequence was, that the hostile party became more peremptory in their demands, insisting on the removal of the congregation. Their vengeance was particularly directed against the missionaries, and they held frequent consultations, in which they resolved to murder all the white brethren and sisters, and even the Indian assistants. But, before they executed their bloody purpose, they enquired the opinion of a common warrior, who was held in great esteem as a sorcerer. He was decidedly against the measure, and said: "You have resolved to kill my dearest friends; for most of their chief people are my friends. But this I tell you that if you hurt any of them, I know what I will do." This threat so terrified them, that they relinquished their design.

Meanwhile the savages became more daring and riotous. Though they were supplied with every thing they wanted by the Christian Indians, they wantonly shot their cattle and pigs. Small parties made inroads into the adjacent country and brought their prisoners to GNADENHUTTEN; thus turning it into a theatre of war and pillage.

At length the Half-king summoned all the missionaries and their Indian assistants from the three settlements before a council of war, asking them, what they intended to do? As they appealed to the answer already given, the assembly broke up without further debate. A Delaware captain then stepped up to brother Zeisberger, telling him, that being adopted one of the Delaware nation, the warriors were willing to protect him. But as this protection extended only to himself, and not to his fellow-labourers, he nobly declined it. Upon this he and the two other missionaries were immediately seized and declared prisoners of war. As they were dragged into the camp

a Huron Indian aimed a push at brother Senseman's head with a kind of lance, but fortunately missed his aim. A Monsy then stepped forward, seized the missionaries by the hair, and shaking them, tauntingly exclaimed: "Welcome among us, my friends!"

Upon this they were led into the camp of the Delawares, who sang the death-song, stripped them of all their clothes except their shirts, and led them into the tent of the English officer, who, seeing their pitiable condition, declared that, though the governor of Detroit had given positive orders to secure them, this treatment was contrary to his intention. Having received a few rags to cover them, they were confined in two huts, belonging to the camp of the Hurons, and joined by the missionary Edwards, who, though he might have escaped, preferred sharing the same fate with his brethren. However, they were not bound like other prisoners; but a strict watch was set over them. Here they were obliged to sit on the bare ground and, having scarce any covering, suffered severely from the cold.

Soon after their confinement, they saw a number of armed warriors march off for SALEM and SCHOENBRUNN. The apprehension of what their families might suffer was far more distressing to them, than all the indignities offered to their own persons. When the savages arrived at the settlements they plundered the mission-houses and chapels, wantonly destroying the furniture, and took the remaining missionaries and their wives and children prisoners, singing the death-song, as they led them away. None was more to be pitied than sister Senseman. She had been delivered of a child only three days before, and now she was in a dark, and rainy night, hurried away by these merciless barbarians. By the mercy of God, however, neither she nor her infant received the least injury. It was indeed a providential circumstance, that she was able to walk, otherwise the savages, according to their usual practice, would instantly have murdered both mother and child. Early in the morning of September 4th this company arrived at GNADENHÜTTEN. The feelings of the brethren Senseman and Zeisberger on seeing their wives brought prisoners into the camp, where they were confined themselves,

may more easily be conceived than described. Thus six missionaries, three of their wives and two children were at once dragged away from their pleasant and peaceful habitations, exposed to all the horrors of captivity in a camp of Indian warriors, and to constant dread, lest these savages should gratify their thirst for blood, by torturing and murdering them.

But that God, who rescued Peter and Paul and Silas from the hands of their persecutors, preserved also the lives of these his devoted servants, and sent them deliverance. The very next day the prisoners obtained permission to see and speak with each other. The scene now exhibited was so affecting, that it struck the very savages with remorse and astonishment. The sisters, who showed wonderful composure and resignation, were soon set at liberty, together with the missionary Jungman. The mission-house being nearly destroyed, they went to the house of brother Shebosh, who, being considered a native, as he had completely adopted the Indian manner of living and married one of their countrywomen, had not been taken prisoner. Mutual visits were now allowed to those, who had been liberated, and their friends who were still in confinement.

At the beginning of these troubles the behaviour of the Christian Indians bore some resemblance to the conduct of the disciples of Jesus, when he was betrayed: they forsook their teachers and fled. However, when they met together in the woods, they wept so loud, that the air resounded with their lamentations; and, soon recovering from their panic, they returned; and having retaken, or bought, several articles stolen by the savages, restored them to the owners. Late in the evening they carried blankets to the missionaries, who were still in prison, and fetched them away early in the morning, lest the savages should steal them in the course of the day.

After the lapse of four days, during which the five imprisoned missionaries had experienced all the horrors of being at the mercy of a set of robbers and murderers, the Indian assistants took courage and applied to the Half-king and the other Captains for the liberation of their teachers. The savages, being by this time convinced that the Christian Indians would never remove from the settlements, unless they were conducted

by the missionaries, summoned them before the Council, set them at liberty and advised them to encourage their converts to emigrate.

Filled with thanks and praises to God, they now returned to their beloved people, and having directed them all to meet at SALEM, they once more celebrated the Lord's Supper with them, during a remarkable perception of the presence of God and the influence of his Spirit. Here they spent some days in peace and comfort, preached the gospel with boldness, baptized one of the catechumens, and exhorted the believers to evince the sincerity of their faith, by acting with firmness and resignation in this season of trial. The Christian Indians, convinced that there was no alternative left them but to emigrate, the more readily acquiesced in the proposed measure as about a hundred of the savages, who had constantly watched their motions, and surrounded them at a distance, now entered the settlement, and behaved like madmen, committing the most daring outrages.

But never did the Brethren leave any country with greater regret. They had already lost above two hundred horned cattle, and four hundred hogs; and now they were obliged to leave a great quantity of corn in their stores, besides three hundred acres, just ready to be reaped, together with potatoes and other vegetables and garden fruits. According to a moderate calculation their loss was computed at two thousand pounds; no trifling sum to be the property of Indians, and which strikingly shews the tendency of true religion to promote industry and improvement. But what gave the missionaries the most pain was the total loss of all their books and manuscripts, which they had translated and compiled with great labour for the instruction of the Indian youth, all of which were now burned by the savages. Add to this, they saw nothing before them, but distress, misery and danger. But there was no alternative, they could only possess their souls in patience, and go even whither they would not, relying on the help of God.

They were escorted by a troop of savages, commanded by English officers, who inclosed them on all sides, at the distance of some miles. In a few days the Half-king of the



Hurons and his warriors overtook them, and proceeded along with the rest. One party went by water, and another by land. By the sinking of some of the canoes, those who were in them lost all their property, but fortunately saved their lives. Those who went by land, drove the cattle. The journey was exceedingly tedious and troublesome, and for the greater part of the way lay through a swamp. The savages frequently drove them forward like a herd of cattle. The missionaries and their wives, surrounded by the Christian Indians, usually travelled in the middle. But one morning, when the latter could not set out as expeditiously as their conductors wanted, they forced the missionaries away alone, whipping their horses till they became unmanageable, and would not even allow time to the mothers to suckle their infants. The Christian Indians followed as fast as possible, but with all their exertions, did not come up with them till night; and thus it was morning before they were rescued from the hands of the savages. Notwithstanding these and many other difficulties, they pursued their journey with the utmost patience. Not one left the congregation, not one laid the blame on others; no dissatisfaction or dissension arose among them, but they were united in the spirit of true brotherly love, rejoicing in God their Saviour; and even held their daily meetings for worship.

After a journey of about four weeks they arrived at SANDUSKY Creek, about one hundred and twenty-five miles distant from the settlements on the Muskingum. Here the Half-king and his warriors left them, marching into their own country, without giving them any further directions. Thus abandoned in a country, where there was neither game nor any other kind of provisions, though it had been represented to them by these barbarians as a perfect paradise, they roved to and fro for some time, and at last resolved to spend the winter in UPPER SANDUSKY. Having pitched upon the best spot they could find in this dreary wilderness, they erected small huts of logs and bark, to shelter themselves from the wet and cold. This was the more necessary, as their savage conductors had stolen all their blankets and other articles, only leaving them the needful utensils for making maple sugar. Their want of

provisions at length became so great, that the missionary Shebosh and some Indian brethren returned to the forsaken settlements on the Muskingum, to fetch the Indian corn, which had been left standing in the fields. This was a hazardous enterprise. Shebosh and five of the Indians were actually taken prisoners and carried to Pittsburg; but the rest returned safely, with four hundred bushels of corn, to SANDUSKY. Though many heathen visited this neighbourhood, they shewed no disposition to hear the gospel, but rather scoffed at it. Captain Pipe boasted, that he had taken the brethren prisoners, and considered them now as his slaves. The Half-king informed them, that being now under his dominion, they were bound to obey all his mandates, and even to go to war at his command. The less prospect there appeared, under these circumstances, of being instrumental in the conversion of the heathen, the more joy the missionaries felt at seeing several, who at the commencement of the troubles, had wandered from the congregation, return to the Shepherd and Bishop of souls, and join his persecuted flock.

Scarce had the Christian Indians begun to establish themselves at SANDUSKY, when the missionaries and the chiefs of their people received an order from the governor at Fort Detroit, to repair thither. Glad of this opportunity to speak for themselves, and refute the many lies propagated respecting them, four of the missionaries, accompanied by as many of the assistants, set out for that place on the 25th of October. Some days elapsed before the investigation of the various charges, brought against them, could take place, as their principal accuser, Captain Pipe, had not yet arrived.

Without entering into a minute detail of the trial, suffice it to say, that Pipe, after some fruitless evasions, was obliged to confess, that the missionaries were innocent, and to take all the blame to himself and the Chiefs. After making some further inquiries, the governor declared publicly, that the missionaries were innocent of all the charges brought against them, that he viewed their endeavours to civilize and christianize the Indians with great satisfaction, and would permit them to return to their congregation without delay. He then addressed the In-

dian assistants in a very condescending manner, admonished them to obey their teachers, and gratuitously supplied them with all they wanted. He offered the use of his own house to the missionaries, and, as contrary to his express orders they had been plundered, he provided them with clothes and every other necessary, and even repurchased four watches of which they had been robbed when made prisoners. Thankful for the gracious interposition of God in their behalf, they arrived again at SANDUSKY on November 22nd, to the inexpressible joy of their families and the whole congregation, who had entertained serious apprehensions, that they would be kept prisoners in Detroit.

Our Indians at SANDUSKY now enjoyed a temporary rest. They erected a chapel, assembled for daily worship, and great grace prevailed among them. Some new people were baptized, and others, who had gone astray, were again restored to the fellowship of the believers. But with regard to externals their situation was distressing in the extreme. Often they knew not to-day what they should eat to-morrow, and absolute famine stared them in the face. Provisions were scarce and could be bought only at a most exorbitant price. The unusual severity of the winter increased the distress. They had considerable herds of cattle, but there was no forage for them in this dreary region, in consequence of which numbers perished. Many of the poor lived entirely on wild potatoes; and the famine at last rose to such a pitch, that they greedily ate the carcasses of horses and cows, that were starved to death.

Compelled by the horrors of famine, several parties returned to the forsaken settlements on the Muskingum, where the corn was still standing unreaped in the fields, and was even then better in quality, than what was offered for sale, at an enormous price, in SANDUSKY. A report likewise prevailed, that the danger in those parts had ceased; but in crediting this, they found themselves most fatally deceived. A scene of treachery and bloodshed was soon after exhibited in this very quarter, to which it would be difficult to find a parallel in the history of the greatest barbarians of any age or nation.

About this time the governor of Pittsburg released those

Christian Indians, who together with the missionary Shebosh, had been taken prisoners by the Americans. This act of common justice greatly incensed the white people, who represented the Indians as a set of Canaanites, that ought to be extirpated from the face of the earth.\* Having heard that parties of Christian Indians from SANDUSKY came occasionally to the Muskingum, to fetch provisions, about one hundred and sixty of these ruffians formed a plot to surprise them, destroy the settlements, and then proceed to SANDUSKY and murder the rest of the congregation: As soon as Colonel Gibson at Pittsburg received intelligence of this infernal plot, he sent information of it to the Muskingum, to warn the Indians of their danger: but the messengers arrived too late. Our Indians indeed had received timely notice of danger from another quarter, but, contrary to their usual caution and timidity; paid no regard to the information, supposing that they now had nothing to fear from the Americans.

In this instance their confidence was fatally misplaced. Early in March 1782, the murderers approached GNADENHUTTEN. About a mile from the settlement they met young Shebosh, the son of the missionary, fired at him and wounded him so severely, that he was unable to escape. He then, according to their own account, begged for his life, representing that he was the son of a white man. Regardless of his entreaties, they cut him in pieces with their hatchets. Proceeding onward they reached the plantations, where many Indians were at work. They accosted them in friendly terms, and desired them to go home, promising that no one should molest them. They even pretended to pity them on account of their past sufferings, and assured them of the protection and friendship of the Americans. The Christian Indians, ignorant of the murder of young Shebosh, believed all they said, and treated them in the most hospitable manner. And when ordered by these murderers, not to return to SANDUSKY, but go to Pittsburg, they submitted with resignation, hoping that God, in his providence, would by this means put a stop to their sufferings. Prepossessed with this idea they cheerfully delivered their guns, hatchets,

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\* See p. 143.

and other weapons, and even shewed them where they had secreted their property in the woods.

Meanwhile John Martin, one of the Indian assistants, went to SALEM to inform the inhabitants of the arrival of the Americans, assuring them they were come as friends in order to conduct the Christian Indians to a place of safety. Those at SALEM received this intelligence without regret, persuading themselves that God, by the instrumentality of the Americans, would release them from their present disagreeable situation; and fondly hoping that, being once arrived at Pittsburg, they would not find it difficult to form a settlement in some convenient spot, and procure advice and assistance from BETHLEHEM. John Martin, having returned to GNADENHUETTEN, acquainted both the Christian Indians and the Americans with their resolution. The latter having expressed a desire to see SALEM, a party of them was conducted thither, and most hospitably entertained. Here they feigned the same friendship as at GNADENHUETTEN, and even affected great piety, entering into much religious discourse with the Indians.

Having by these hypocritical arts completely succeeded in deceiving the unsuspecting Indians, they at once threw off the mask, and displayed all the hideous deformity of their real character. They suddenly attacked the poor defenceless inhabitants of GNADENHUETTEN, seized and bound them. Those coming from SALEM shared a similar fate. Before they entered GNADENHUETTEN they were surprised by their conductors, robbed of their guns and even of their pocket-knives, and brought bound into the settlement. The miscreants now held a council, and by a plurality of votes resolved to murder them all the next day. The few, who opposed this inhuman resolution, wrung their hands, calling God to witness that they were innocent of the blood of these harmless Indians. But the majority remained inflexible, only differing as to the mode of execution. Some proposed burning them alive; others scalping them. The latter mode was finally fixed upon. They then despatched a messenger to the prisoners, to tell them, that as they were Christians, they might prepare themselves for death in a Christian manner, for they must all die on the morrow.

It may easily be conceived, that this dreadful intelligence overwhelmed the prisoners with horror. But, soon recollecting themselves, they patiently submitted to these blood-thirsty tyrants. Being allowed one night's respite, they spent it in prayer, and in exhorting one another to remain faithful unto death. At the dawn of morning they united in solemn hymns of praise, in the joyful hope, that they should soon enter into the glorious presence of God their Saviour, and join the song of the ransomed before the throne of the Lamb.

When the day of execution (March 8th) arrived, the murderers fixed upon two houses, one for the men, the other for the women and children, to which they gave the name of SLAUGHTER-HOUSES. The carnage immediately commenced, and these poor innocent people, men, women, and children, being bound with ropes, two and two together, were led into the houses, and there scalped and murdered. By this act of most wanton barbarity ninety-six persons finished their earthly existence, among whom were five valuable assistants in the mission, and thirty-four children. According to the testimony of the murderers themselves, they displayed uncommon patience, and met death with cheerful resignation, and in full assurance of a glorious resurrection to life eternal.

It appears from all the circumstances attending this bloody catastrophe, that they were not murdered because they were *Christians*, but merely because they were *Indians*. We cannot therefore compare them with the martyrs of the primitive Church, who died for their testimony of Jesus; but this we may confidently affirm, that they met death, even in the most formidable shape, with all the meekness and fortitude of Christ's true disciples, and to the end of their lives bore witness to the truth and efficacy of the gospel. Their very murderers acknowledged, that they were *good* Indians, "for," said they, "they sang and prayed to their latest breath."

Only two youths escaped this dreadful massacre, and that in a manner almost miraculous. The one fortunately disengaged himself from his bonds, and unobserved crept through a narrow window into the cellar of one of the slaughter-houses. Here he soon observed the blood drop through the floor and run in

streams into the cellar, which makes it probable, that the murderers not only scalped their victims, but cut them in pieces. Remaining concealed in the cellar during the night, he with much difficulty made his way out the next morning, and fled into an adjacent thicket. The escape of the other youth was equally remarkable. His murderers gave him only one blow on the head, took his scalp and then left him. In a while he recovered his senses and saw himself surrounded with bleeding corpses, among whom he observed one, called Abel, still moving and endeavouring to raise himself. But he lay quite still, as though he had been dead; and this caution proved the means of his deliverance; for one of the murderers coming in, and observing Abel move, gave him two or three blows, which killed him. The other, though suffering excruciating pain from his wounds, remained quiet. A while after he ventured to creep towards the door, and not seeing any person near, escaped into the woods, where he concealed himself during the night. Here he met his companion, and they pursued their journey to SANDUSKY. Though they purposely took a circuitous route, on which they encountered great dangers, and suffered many hardships; yet they were graciously preserved. Before they left their place of concealment, they observed the wretches making merry, congratulating themselves on the success of their enterprize, and setting fire to the slaughter-houses.

The Christian Indians at SCHOENBRUNN fortunately escaped the destruction, equally meditated against them. Having despatched a messenger, on some business to GNADENHUETTEN, he found young Shebosh lying dead and scalped, by the way, and looking forward, saw a number of Americans in and about the settlement. Alarmed at this, he returned to SCHOENBRUNN with the utmost precipitation, informing the inhabitants of what he had seen. Upon this they all fled into the woods. From their lurking-places they observed the murderers approach the town, who, finding no one at home, set fire to the houses, as they had also done at GNADENHUETTEN and SALEM. Taking the scalps of their innocent victims, about fifty horses, some blankets and other things with them, they proceeded to Pittsburg, with a view to murder the colony of Indians, lately

settled on the north side of the Ohio ; which diabolical design they partially effected.

While this tragical scene was acting on the banks of the Muskingum, the missionaries at SANDUSKY were not without their troubles. Some members of the congregation had apostatized from the faith, and excited no small disturbance and uneasiness by their endeavours to seduce others, as well as by their own obstinacy, bidding defiance to all remonstrances, and treating even the kindest reproof with contempt and ridicule. But a heavier trial than this was preparing for them. The enemies of the Brethren were still plotting the destruction of the mission. The governor of Detroit, unwilling to break his promise that no one should molest them in their labours, resisted every base insinuation against them as far as lay in his power. At length, however, all his measures of firmness and prudence proved ineffectual ; and he was in a manner forced, though very reluctantly, to give the Half-king of the Hurons and an English officer in his company, an order to bring all the missionaries, and their families to Fort Detroit ; adding, however, a strict charge neither to plunder nor abuse them.

The missionaries were panic-struck at this order : to be torn from their beloved flock was a far severer blow to them, than death itself. But no choice was allowed them, and submission to the inscrutable ways of divine Providence became their imperious duty ; for the slightest remonstrance might have subjected them to ill treatment and plunder, and could not have been of the smallest service. When this order was made known to the congregation, a most affecting and overwhelming scene was exhibited. The whole assembly burst into loud lamentations and almost crushed the spirit of the missionaries, already sufficiently oppressed by their own weight of sorrow. The Indians, who are wont to endure the most cruel tortures without a tear or a groan, now wept like children bereaved of their parents, and in broken accents, as their half-stifled emotions would give them utterance, exclaimed, " We are left as sheep without a shepherd !" " Ah !" said one, " it gives me no concern, that I am poor and hungry and have lost all my substance. Gladly would I suffer all this and much more ; but



that our enemies are taking our teachers from us, and intend to rob our *souls* of nourishment and deprive us of salvation; this is more than I can bear. But they shall never entice me to adopt their heathenish practices, or force me to do things abominable in the sight of God my Saviour. No; I will rather run into the thickest wood, fly from all human society, and spend the remainder of my days in penury and wretchedness."

Heart-rending as this scene was to them, their sorrow had not yet reached its height. They were still ignorant of the tragical events on the Muskingum; and it was not till the day before their departure, that they received the first appalling tidings of that dreadful catastrophe, by an Indian warrior who came from those parts. And as this information was not in every respect correct, they were left to figure things to themselves even more dreadful than they were. By what they could collect from this relation, one part of the Christian Indians had been murdered, and another carried prisoners to Pittsburg.

In this state of mind, overpowered with grief for the past, and agitated by fears for the future, they took leave of their congregation at SANDUSKY. Brother Zeisberger, after exhorting them, with the affection of a father, to remain faithful to Jesus unto death, and apply to Him in all their need and distress, as the only permanent source of comfort, salvation and life, kneeled down with the whole assembly, offered grateful praises to the Lord for all the spiritual blessings he had bestowed upon them in the midst of great temporal misery, and fervently commended them to the protection and preservation of the triune God.

In March 1782 they left SANDUSKY, and were accompanied a considerable part of the way by a great number of their weeping flock; and by some even as far as Lower Sandusky. Here they were detained for some time, waiting for vessels to carry them across lake Erie to Detroit. The vessels, at length, arrived with a written order to treat the missionaries with all possible kindness, and in case of stormy weather not to endanger their lives by crossing the lake. Having arrived at Detroit

on the 11th of April, they were lodged in a part of the barracks, which had just been fitted up for officers' dwellings. The governor soon called to see them, assuring them, that though many accusations had been brought against them, yet he was fully convinced of their innocence, and had not sent for them on that account, but merely for their own safety, having received the most authentic intelligence, that they were exposed to imminent danger while they remained at SANDUSKY. He also left it to their own option, whether they would remain at Detroit, or go to BETHLEHEM. With his consent they removed from the barracks to a private house, at a short distance from the town.

The Indian congregation, meanwhile, was placed in the most precarious situation. The assistants indeed continued the daily meetings, and faithfully exhorted their brethren to remain steadfast. An English trader, who visited SANDUSKY, bore a pleasing testimony to this. He related, that he heard them sing hymns and exhort each other, till they wept together like children. But, encouraging as this was, some false brethren now manifested the perfidy of their hearts. They ascribed all their misfortunes, and even the murder on the Muskingum, to the missionaries. Besides, the Half-king of the Hurons, being incessantly tormented with the pangs of a guilty conscience, had no rest as long as any Christian Indians remained in his neighbourhood. He, therefore, sent them a peremptory order to quit the country altogether. Indeed it appeared, as if no place were left, where these poor, persecuted Indians might find rest for the soles of their feet. They could expect no protection from the white people, and the heathen proscribed them as outlaws. As their dispersion seemed unavoidable, they resolved to make no resistance. One party went into the country of the Shawanose, and another settled in the vicinity of Pipestown, with a view to proceed further to the banks of the Miami. Thus a temporary stop was put to the once flourishing mission among the Indians.

The various afflictive and dreadful occurrences, just related, bore every mark of a mysterious and inscrutable Providence, impenetrable to the view of short-sighted man, and only cal-

culated to elicit in his servants the bold effort of faith, *to hope even against hope*. By degrees, however, the dark clouds dispersed; the veil, which had concealed the secret operations of the divine hand, was at least partially withdrawn, and they were enabled to discern rays of almighty love, power and wisdom in this darkest of dispensations, constraining them gratefully to exclaim: *The Lord God Omnipotent reigneth! He will restrain the power of the enemy and the fury of the oppressor, and cause all things to work together for good to them that love Him.*

Though the removal of the Christian Indians from their settlements on the Muskingum caused great distress at the time, yet it was, in fact, a most gracious interposition of divine Providence; for had not this measure been rendered absolutely necessary, it is more than probable that the whole congregation would have been involved in the massacre at GNADENHUETTEN; but in consequence of their emigration to SANDUSKY more than two thirds escaped. Had not the missionaries received orders to repair to Detroit, they would not then have thought of sending a messenger to the Muskingum, to call the Indians away, and thus the inhabitants of SCHOENBRUNN would have shared the same fate with their murdered brethren at GNADENHUETTEN. For the arrival of the messenger from SANDUSKY at the former place required that the message he had brought should be also carried to the other settlements; and the Indian entrusted with this was the person who, as mentioned before, saw young Shebosh lying dead by the road, and spread the alarm at SCHOENBRUNN, thereby affording time to the inhabitants to save themselves by flight.

But the good resulting from the removal of the missionaries to Detroit did not terminate here. The same gang of murderers, who had committed the massacre on the Muskingum, did not abandon their bloody design against the rest of the congregation, though they deferred its execution for a while. A few weeks after the dispersion from SANDUSKY, these miscreants came hither, but finding the place deserted, their cruel purpose was providentially defeated. Soon after this disappointment divine justice overtook them, for being attacked by a party of English

and Indian warriors, the greater part of them were cut to pieces.

We now resume the history of the mission.

The missionaries in Detroit did not avail themselves of the governor's permission to go to BETHLEHEM ; a sense of duty and affection inducing them to seek the welfare of their poor, dispersed Indian flock. To promote this they resolved to build a new settlement and invite their converts to return to them. Through the interest of the governor, who highly approved this measure, they obtained from the Chippeways a grant of land, about thirty miles north of Detroit, on the banks of the Huron. The governor continued his kind assistance in various ways ; he furnished them with provisions, boats, planks and other necessary articles from the royal stores, and gave them some horses and cows ; and his lady presented them with a valuable assortment of seeds and roots. He even sent a message with a string of wampum to all the dispersed Christian Indians, inviting them to return to their teachers. Several families soon collected, so that in the month of July 1782, they had the pleasure of beginning the erection of the new settlement, which they called NEW GNADENHUETTEN.

During their residence at Detroit they had had frequent opportunities of preaching the gospel both in the English and German languages ; they were often applied to, to baptize children and bury the dead ; and brother Zeisberger delivered several discourses to the prisoners, which were attended by many inhabitants of the town.

The industry of the missionaries aided by a favourable soil and other advantages, soon changed the new settlement, which before had been a perfect wilderness, into a fruitful and pleasant spot, but its colonization by the Christian Indians proceeded rather slowly. The greater part of them still remained scattered among the heathen, chiefly in the county of Twichtwees, about two hundred and fifty miles south of NEW GNADENHUETTEN. The missionaries omitted no opportunity of sending them verbal messages ; but from interested motives these were frequently perverted by the bearers, and the adversaries endeavoured to keep alive their imaginary fears of the white people,

especially of the English government. Some of the native Chiefs also terrified them, by commanding them to be resigned to their fate, and resume the manners of the heathen, adding, "that not a single word of the gospel should any more be heard in the Indian country."

Notwithstanding the wily arts of the pagans to hinder the Christian Indians from returning to their teachers, many by degrees collected together on the river Huron. The new settlement was frequently visited, both by white people and heathen, who admired the regulations and improvements of the place. The missionaries exerted their accustomed zeal in preaching the gospel and instructing their flock. A few yielded to the converting influence of the Word of God and were baptized, and the internal course of the congregation was encouraging and edifying.

In May 1783, they joined their neighbours in thanksgiving to God for the restoration of peace between England and the United States of America.

The ensuing winter was marked by a very intense frost continuing late into the spring. Being wholly unexpected, it occasioned great scarcity and obliged our Indians to disperse through the country. They were often reduced to extreme want, and forced to live on wild roots, till God was pleased to relieve their necessities by a large herd of deer, which strayed into the neighbourhood. During this time of scarcity they unavoidably contracted considerable debt with the traders in Detroit, but these were now so well convinced of their industry and honesty, that they gave them credit without hesitation. And, as the next harvest proved very productive, they were enabled punctually to discharge all their obligations.

But now new troubles arose. The Chippeways, who had given the tract of land on which NEW GNADENHUETTEN stood, claimed it back again, assigning as a reason, that, by the erection of the settlement, they had lost one of their principal hunting-districts. They even threatened to murder some of the inhabitants and thus compelled the rest to quit the country. As it was not likely that these complaints and vexations would speedily terminate, the brethren resolved to seek for an eligible residence near the river Walhaling.

While preparing for their removal they received intelligence, that the Congress of the United States, after the conclusion of the war with Great Britain, had given express orders, that the territory on the Muskingum, formerly inhabited by the Christian Indians, should be reserved for them. This was welcome news at NEW GNADENHUETTEN; for though an Indian feels a strong aversion to dwell in a place where any of his relatives have been killed, yet on embracing the gospel, they had laid aside this superstitious notion. Various impediments, however as yet prevented their return. The savages were still determined to carry on the war against the United States, and a great part of the Delawares and Shawanose declared their intention to oppose the return of the Christian Indians.

The Brethren, however, resolved at all events to leave the banks of the Huron, and if they could not immediately remove to the Muskingum, to seek a temporary residence in some other convenient spot. The governor of Fort Detroit approved of this determination, and sent formal messages to the Indians not to molest their Christian countrymen. By his kind interposition they received a compensation of two hundred dollars for their houses and plantations in NEW GNADENHUETTEN, which were afterwards occupied by white settlers. He most generously offered them vessels, to carry them across lake Erie to Cayahaga, and on their arrival supplied them with provisions.

In April 1786, the missionaries and their people left NEW GNADENHUETTEN and went in twenty-two canoes to Detroit, the inhabitants of which expressed deep regret at their removal, having always found them industrious and honest neighbours. The governor treated them with great kindness and hospitality. In a few days they embarked on two trading vessels, the Beaver and Makina, belonging to the North-West Company, which one of the owners had kindly offered for the use of the congregation, and given strict orders to the captains to shew them all possible kindness, and not run any risks in case of danger. Their voyage was pleasant and prosperous till they arrived at an island in the lake, where, owing to contrary winds, they were obliged to encamp for four weeks. At length a brisk gale

sprung up, and in a short time brought them within sight of the Cayahaga coast, when the wind suddenly veered round and drove them back to their former anchorage.

In consequence of this long delay one of the vessels was ordered back to Detroit, and the captains agreed to land the congregation in two divisions at Sandusky, and then return with the vessels and bring the baggage to Cayahaga. The first division, being unable to reach Sandusky, disembarked at Rocky Point, about eighty miles distant from the bay. Their journey by land was very difficult, as it lay through a pathless desert. After some days the second division overtook them in slight canoes, hastily made of bark. They now travelled together, one party on foot along the border of lake Erie, the other in canoes, keeping close to the shore; and arrived in safety at Cayahaga on the 7th of June. Want of provisions made them hasten their departure, and proceed up the river till they came to an old town, formerly inhabited by Ottawas, about one hundred miles distant from Pittsburg. Here they resolved to spend the summer, and, though the season was already far advanced, they still cleared the ground for planting and even sowed some Indian corn. They called this place PILGERUH.

The difficulties, always attending the erection of a new settlement, were considerably lessened in this instance. For soon after their arrival they received a large supply of various necessary articles from the brethren at BETHLEHEM, and some traders, residing in the vicinity, readily furnished them with provisions, giving them credit for great part of the payment. The Congress of the United States likewise ordered a quantity of Indian corn and blankets to be given them, and by a written message informed them, that their return to the United States gave them great satisfaction, and they might always depend on the friendship and protection of government; promising to give them five-hundred bushels of Indian corn, a hundred blankets, and other necessaries from the public magazines, whenever they should remove to the Muskingum. This promise was scrupulously fulfilled, though their removal could not be immediately effected.

PILGERUH was often visited by Chippeways, Ottawas and

Delawares, expressing a desire to hear the gospel. But, while this circumstance afforded sincere pleasure to the missionaries, they met with troubles of a different kind from those to which they had been accustomed on the Huron. Several heathen Indians, who had relations in the settlement, endeavoured to seduce them to return to paganism, and on some their attempts were but too successful. Upon the whole, however, the state of things was pleasing, and warranted the hope, that, after a temporary rest in this place, they might proceed to the Muskingum.

The joy this prospect diffused through the congregation was soon interrupted. Various reports of new hostilities between the Americans and Indians reached PILGERUH, and though they were soon discovered to be false; yet they excited no small consternation, as the recollection of the dreadful tragedy on the Muskingum was still too strong to be easily forgotten. Besides, the savages were as much against their remaining in their present situation as against their returning to their former settlements, and insisted on their removal to some other part of the country. This caused them much perplexity. After mature deliberation they determined to relinquish every idea of returning to the Muskingum at that time, and to seek for a peaceful and safe retreat on some convenient spot between Cayahaga and Pettquotting.

In April 1787 they broke up from PILGERUH, and, proceeding partly by land and partly by water, in less than a week arrived at the place they had fixed upon for their residence. This was very unlike any of their former places of abode. The soil was good and fertile, producing wild potatoes in great abundance; it appeared like a fruitful orchard, several apple and plum trees growing here and there; and the lake, which was only a league distant, abounded with fish. They, therefore, rejoiced at the thought of establishing a regular settlement in so pleasant a country, especially as it was not frequented by any of those savages, who had hitherto proved such troublesome neighbours.

But their joy was of short duration. Not more than three or four days after their arrival, a Delaware Captain came into the camp, and gave them positive orders to quit that place and



remove to Sandusky, adding the most solemn promises of protection and safety, assuring them that the place appointed for their residence was not in the vicinity of the savages, the nearest Indian town being ten miles distant. Disagreeable as this message was, the missionaries considered submission as the path of duty. Nothing appeared so dreadful, as the prospect of being again subject to a heathen government. Yet they could not deny, that their calling seemed to require, that they should live in the very midst of those heathen, to whom they were to preach the gospel.

In the beginning of May they set forward, but had not proceeded far when they discovered that great part of the message was false, for the place, intended for their residence, was not above two miles from the villages of the heathen. They determined therefore, to go no further, but settle near Pettquoting. Of this they informed the Chiefs, and obtained their permission to stay, at least a year, in that place without molestation.

They fixed on a situation near a river, called Huron, which empties itself into lake Erie at Pettquoting. On its western bank they laid out plantations, choosing the eastern, which was high land, for their dwellings; and called this settlement NEW SALEM. Many heathen Indians attended their public worship, scarce a day passed without visits from strangers, and they had the satisfaction to find that the blessing of God accompanied their labours. Among those savages, who at this time were converted from the error of their way, were two persons formerly noted for profligacy. The one had some years ago formed a plot against the lives of the missionaries, and had often lain in ambush to surprise them, but fortunately without success. Coming accidentally to PILGERUH, the gospel made so deep and salutary an impression upon his mind, that he cried day and night to the Lord to be delivered from the slavery of sin. The other was a Huron Indian, who declined the offer made him by his nation, to be their Chief, and came to NEW SALEM, declaring that he had been long seeking for something better than worldly honors. He intended to visit his heathen relations, but when hearing of Jesus

and his love to sinners, he relinquished that design, and remained faithfully attached to the congregation, finding there among the believers that peace and rest, which he had so long sought in vain elsewhere.

Many of those Christian Indians also, who during the late troubles had been scattered through the country, successively returned to NEW SALEM and were affectionately received. Yet with regard to such, as during their absence had relapsed into heathenism, proper discretion was used, and they were not admitted to the privileges of the Church, till they had given satisfactory proofs of repentance and change of heart. The prosperity of the young people afforded the missionaries much pleasure. Many of them, by a strict conformity to the precepts of the gospel, shewed that it had taken deep root in their understanding and affections. The assistants increased in grace and knowledge of the truth, and attended to their office with zeal and diligence. The good order maintained in the settlement, the peaceable conduct of its inhabitants, and their cheerful behaviour excited the admiration of all who visited the place, not excepting the very savages themselves. One of their Chiefs addressed the Christian Indians thus : " You are in truth a happy people, you live cheerfully and peaceably together ; and this is to be found no where but among you."

Their residence near Pettquotting appeared very providential as it afforded them an opportunity of becoming acquainted with many Indians. They had more visitors here than in any of their former places of abode, who were always treated with the kindest hospitality, though this was often attended with no small inconvenience and expense ; for it was no uncommon case for one family to lodge and entertain ten or more persons for a whole week and even longer. The assistants displayed great zeal and activity in pointing out to their guests their need of a Saviour, and in commending the love of God in Christ Jesus : and their endeavours were not fruitless. Several heathen embraced the gospel and received holy baptism. Among these was Gelelemin, formerly a Delaware Chief, and some other persons of distinction.

Gegeshumind, a son of the assistant Abraham, was another

instance of the power of divine grace. Compelled by the pangs of a guilty conscience to disclose his true character, he freely acknowledged to brother Zeisberger, that he had been a notorious profligate: and, in order not to forget any of the evil deeds he had committed, he brought fifty-eight small pieces of wood with him, which were designed to remind him of the crimes of which he had been guilty. Deep-rooted superstition and long-contracted habits of vice drove him almost to despair, and for a time impeded his conversion; but the grace of God finally gained the victory, and liberated this slave of Satan. After his baptism he became a zealous confessor of the truth as it is in Jesus, especially when visiting the Indians. In this employment his knowledge of five of their languages, or dialects, was of great use to him.

Several apostates also returned, and some young men, acquainted with several languages, forsook paganism, joined the congregation, and became useful and active members of it, and the young people, born and educated in it, afforded the most pleasing hopes.

Those Christian Indians, who after their dispersion from the Muskingum had retired to the Maimi, continued to edify each other as well as circumstances would permit, and many of them remained true to their Christian profession. Some departed this life in peace and in assured hope of a better inheritance. The decrease in number, occasioned by their removal, was made up by others who found their way to NEW SALEM. Among these was a girl, only eleven years old, who, as soon as she heard of the new settlement, undertook a journey of more than three hundred miles by herself, and arrived in safety. Thus the settlement was gradually increasing, and at the close of 1790 contained upwards of two hundred inhabitants.

After a tranquil residence of four years at NEW SALEM they were obliged to quit that settlement. For some time past they had frequently been annoyed by the white dealers in rum, residing in their neighbourhood, and now they were alarmed by reports of hostilities having commenced between the United States and the Indians. They therefore endeavoured to find

a temporary asylum in the English territory. For this purpose they fixed on a place lying about eighteen miles from Detroit. The governor of that town kindly afforded them every assistance in his power. The whole congregation, upwards of two hundred in number, crossed lake Erie in thirty canoes, and reached their new residence on the 4th of May 1791, the missionaries and the heavy baggage being conveyed in a ship, hired by a gentleman in Detroit for that purpose.\*

Among other heathen, who, during their abode in this place, sought the fellowship of the Christian Indians, was a man of the tribe of the Wiondats. For some years he had manifested an inclination to live with them, and labouring now under a serious illness, he renewed his application. Some Indian brethren visited him and spent nearly the whole night in conversing with him on the love of Jesus to sinners. This greatly enlivened him, and he regretted, that he was not able to go with them, declaring that he wished to die among them. In a day or two he was brought to the settlement. The Roman Catholic priest†, in whose communion he had been baptized, asking him, why he had changed his religion, he replied: "I have been long among you, and repeatedly heard your discourses; but it was all hay and stubble, and I have found nothing among you, that could tranquillize my mind; but among these believing Indians I have found peace."‡

Their stay in this place did not last above a year. Some of their white neighbours, not being amicably disposed towards the mission, molested them in various ways; and war having now broken out between the Americans and Savages, the latter sent repeated messages to the Christian Indians to take up the hatchet against the white people, and, in case of refusal, threatened to treat them as they had done their brethren on the Mus-

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\* This place, being only a temporary residence, received no particular name.

† A number of Roman Catholic priests reside among the Wiondats, who baptize them, but in other respects suffer them to live like other savages.

‡ The congregation being on the point of breaking up from their abode near Detroit, this Indian was not able to go with them; and the reports of the missionaries contain no further account of him.

kingum, or force them to return to paganism. Besides this their present residence, from its low situation, was very unhealthy; many of the Indians died, and the missionaries themselves were frequently indisposed.

No other resource being left them than to abandon their present place of abode, they directed their thoughts to Upper Canada, where the English government had assigned, for the use of the mission, twenty five thousand acres of land, lying on the river Retrench, or Thames, which falls into the east side of lake St. Clair. In April 1792 the whole congregation moved thither, going partly by land and partly by water. Having fixed on a proper spot, they immediately began to build and divide the land into farms. The district allotted to them consisted of three large dales; the high grounds being sandy, but the low lands uncommonly fertile and well watered. Their greatest difficulty was, that they were obliged to fetch all the stones, required for building, from the bed of the river. To this settlement they gave the name of FAIRFIELD. It was afterwards declared to be a regular township, containing twelve miles in length and six in breadth: and the inhabitants in a short time improved it so much, that the wilderness was literally changed into a fruitful field.

In a few years FAIRFIELD became a very flourishing settlement. In 1797 it contained fifty houses, some of them large and convenient, inhabited by about one hundred and fifty Indians, besides the missionaries. By their industry in agriculture and various manufactures the inhabitants could not only supply their own immediate necessities, but advantageously dispose of many articles to their neighbours. On an average they annually furnished the North-west Fur-company with two thousand bushels of Indian corn. In winter they made about five thousand pounds of maple-sugar\*; and though they consumed a great part of it themselves, yet what they brought to market was still considerable, and of superior quality to any manufactured in Canada. They also raised a great number of

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\* The maple [*acer saccharinum*] is a species of ash, the sap of which boiled into sugar, and is little inferior to the sugar brought from the West Indies.

cattle for sale ; for, being accustomed to deer's flesh, beef is unpalatable to Indians, and they, therefore, seldom eat it. Their canoes, coopers, baskets, mats, &c. also commanded a ready sale. The whole country was benefited by their industry, as it served to reduce the price of many of the principal necessities of life.

The establishment of the Brethren here was of public utility in another point of view. When they first came to these parts, the nearest settlers to them resided at a distance of thirty leagues ; but no sooner was it known, that the Christian Indians would form a colony on this river, than the adjacent lands were eagerly taken by white people ; and in a few years above a hundred families established themselves in their neighbourhood. Having themselves opened roads in various directions through the country, travellers were continually passing to and fro, both by land and water, and hence FAIRFIELD might be considered as lying on the great road to Niagara. Thus this settlement appeared to be admirably suited for a missionary station, from whence the gospel might be proclaimed to the different and numerous tribes of the Chippeways.

Soon after their arrival at FAIRFIELD the Indians in the vicinity frequently visited them and attended their worship, especially the Monsys, who had a village at no great distance ; and the native assistants from FAIRFIELD, in their turn, visited them, embracing every opportunity for preaching the gospel. In a few instances it displayed its converting power : but most of the inhabitants, not only rejected it themselves, but opposed those who were inclined to receive it. The relatives of a certain woman endeavoured to deter her from going to reside with the believers, intimating that these Christian Indians and their teachers would meet a similar fate with their predecessors on the Muskingum. But nothing could shake her resolution, and the only reply she made was : " Should the believers suffer evil, as you say, I will share it with them ; and if it goes well with them, I also shall enjoy it ; where they dwell, there I will likewise dwell." The firmness of another Indian woman was not less remarkable. She was not moved from the purpose of joining the believers, either by the loss of her property,

which was mostly taken from her, or by the terrifying predictions of the sorcerers, who prophesied, she would not live long if she went to the Christians.

The most numerous tribe of Indians, occupying the territory in which FAIRFIELD lies, were the Chippeways. Many of these visited the settlement, and frequently with much apparent devotion attended divine worship. This was particularly the case in 1794, when a party of warriors, belonging to this tribe, encamped near the settlement, and remained there the whole winter. An old man from the camp actually took up his abode in FAIRFIELD, and the missionaries entertained good hopes respecting him; but in a few months, under pretence of fetching his children, he went away and never returned.

As the war between the United States and the Indians still continued, our brethren were often annoyed by companies of warriors passing through FAIRFIELD, or encamping near the place, and sending repeated messages to the Christian Indians, challenging them to join in the contest. In these cases the missionaries found it the most advisable to let their converts act according to their own insight and disposition, only exhorting them to put their trust in God, and not be intimidated by the threats of men. The consequence was, that, with the exception of only very few of the less stable members of the congregation, who joined the warriors, they declined all their challenges with firmness.

Notwithstanding these temptations, the internal course of the congregation was pleasing and prosperous. The edifying deaths of some members of it, excited the survivors to give increasing diligence to make their calling and election sure. Among those, who about this time finished their mortal race, were two aged men, David and Joachim, who for many years had been intimate friends, and latterly, being too feeble to work, used to spend many hours together, discoursing of the salvation of their souls, the love and mercy of God our Saviour, the hope of eternal life, &c. David, who departed in 1797, had been baptized at GNADENHUTTEN on the Mahony in 1753, and remained steadfast to his profession amidst all

the vicissitudes, which in the sequel befel the Christian Indians. In 1782, when the missionaries were separated from their flock and carried to Detroit, he retired to the river Thames, and lived like a hermit near the spot, where FAIRFIELD was afterwards built. He therefore rejoiced greatly when this settlement was formed, and in it spent the remainder of his days, being universally respected and beloved.

His friend, Joachim, was the first Delaware who embraced the gospel. After his baptism in 1745 he resided a whole year in the house of the single brethren at BETHLEHEM, and ever after spoke of this period with much pleasure. In the sequel he bore all the sufferings, with which the Indian congregation was visited, with unshaken confidence in our Saviour. After their dispersion at SANDUSKY he lived for some time by himself, and never mixed with the heathen. As soon as the congregation was again collected near Pettquotting he joined it, and led a very exemplary life to his end. He understood the German and English languages, could read a little and was one of the best interpreters of the sermons delivered by the missionaries.

The necessity of watching over their flock and guarding it against relapsing into heathenism and its sinful and abominable practices, was a duty, which, however painful, was never neglected by the missionaries. In general they left the preservation of good order and regularity in the settlement to the assistants, that they might attend with less distraction to their more important functions and "give themselves continually unto prayer and the ministry of the Word." And in this respect the services of the assistants were generally effective. In extraordinary cases, however, and when public offence was given, the missionaries interfered, and enforced discipline according to plain scripture rule without respect of persons. A distressing instance of this kind occurred in 1797, but which, by the grace of God, terminated in the sincere repentance of the offenders. Several members of the congregation having been guilty of intemperance, and the assistants, having not only connived at it, but in other respects been remiss in the performance of their duty, the missionaries first called them together,



representing to them the unchristian and offensive nature of their conduct, whereby they had disqualified themselves from holding any office in the Church, until they manifested real repentance. They then exhorted them to confess their transgressions to our Saviour and seek his pardon, and likewise to humble themselves before their brethren and sisters, asking their forgiveness, hoping that their example might be imitated by the other offenders. A few days after brother Zeisberger presented the offenders before the whole congregation, (which had been convened for that purpose) admonishing them to sincere repentance. These admonitions had the desired effect. The guilty humbly acknowledged their transgressions, and spent several days in meeting together in small parties, and confessing to each other their deviations, with tears asking the forgiveness of all, whom they had offended. The missionaries gratefully acknowledged the hand of the Lord in thus leading the transgressors to true compunction of heart for their misconduct. The end of discipline having thus been fully attained, they once more called the congregation together, and brother Zeisberger addressed them from Rev. ii. 5. "Remember from whence thou art fallen, and repent and do thy first works." After fervent prayer, during which the whole assembly burst into loud weeping, he dismissed them in peace.

The missionaries were not inattentive to the spiritual wants of their white neighbours. Many of them regularly attended divine service at FAIRFIELD, and brought their children thither to be baptized. Those, who lived at a greater distance, invited the missionaries to preach in their villages. In general they were treated with great respect by the settlers, who reposed almost unlimited confidence in them. The inhabitants of a certain town were even desirous of electing brother Senseman their representative in the assembly of the state. An honour which he declined, as being incompatible with his missionary calling.

No very striking success attended their endeavours for the conversion of the heathen Indians. For though many visited the settlement, the salutary impressions, made on their minds by the preaching of the gospel, were but too successfully effa-

ced by the temptations of the white dealers, who were continually seducing them to drunkenness; and thus neglect of the interests of their souls, and the commission of many crimes, followed of course. During the six years, since their removal from Pettquotting, only twelve adult Indians and forty children had been baptized. But amidst all these discouragements the missionaries did not relax in the zealous prosecution of their calling, and they had the joy to observe, that those Christian Indians, who lived with them, with few exceptions, walked in the fear of the Lord, building up each other in their most holy faith. With regard to such characters as appeared still undecided, or had suffered themselves to be seduced by others, they exercised all possible patience and admonished them in love; for they had learned by the experience of many years that, as their notions of liberty are unbounded, nothing is effected with Indians by force or constraint. Some of those, who had strayed at the time of the massacre on the Muskingum, and had till now remained among the pagans, returned and sought leave to reside in the settlement.

Peace having been restored between the Indians and the United States, a resolution was formed, to renew the mission on the Muskingum, where Congress had formally granted to the Brethren's Society (in America) for propagating the gospel among the heathen the land, on which GNADENHUETTEN, SCHOENBRUNN and SALEM formerly stood, with four thousand acres of ground adjoining to each of the settlements. In this view the brethren J. Heckewaelder and William Henry, in the summer of 1797, went to take a survey of it. They found the whole district overgrown with an impervious thicket of briers and brushwood of various kinds, the haunt of serpents, bears, deer, turkies and other animals. Some ruins of the houses were still standing, and the place, where the Indians were massacred, was strongly marked, many of their bones lying concealed under the ashes.

In August the following year several Indian families from FAIRFIELD, consisting of thirty-three persons, commenced the renewal of the mission there. The venerable David Zeisberger, with truly apostolical zeal, though then seventy-seven

years old, volunteered his services for this difficult and arduous undertaking, being accompanied by his wife, likewise aged and infirm, and the missionary Benjamin Mortimer. The journey, as usual in this country, was tedious, occupying nearly two months, and was attended with many dangers and difficulties both by land and water. When they came to the carrying-place in the river Cayahaga, they were obliged to drag the loaded canoes for seven miles over solid rocks; but by great exertions they reached the place of their destination in October in good health and perfect safety. The Indians indeed combated every hardship with wonderful composure and steady perseverance. They never murmured, and not an individual among them ever appeared to lament having undertaken the journey, or to flinch from the duties he had thereby imposed on himself. It is justly remarked by the missionaries, "that men of their stamp and character, if properly prepared for the work by the Spirit of God, would be the fittest of all others to make known the gospel to their wild countrymen, living at a distance." It was strongly impressed on their own minds, that they had undertaken the journey for that very purpose, and most of them expressed an ardent desire to be useful to their heathen countrymen by leading them to a knowledge of the Saviour of sinners. They entered into an agreement among themselves, to renew the ancient hospitality and treat all visitors in the most friendly manner.

Thus after the lapse of more than seventeen years, since the Christian Indians were forcibly expelled from this part of the country, a few of the survivors, in reliance on the help of God, ventured to re-occupy that station. They erected their first settlement near the former site of SCHOENBRUNN and called it GOSHEN. A few heathen families in the sequel moved thither and embraced the gospel. At the beginning of the year 1801, the number of inhabitants amounted to seventy one persons. The love and Christian simplicity, prevailing among them, were noticed by all visitors with great pleasure and much edification. Their number, however, was considerably diminished the following year, as several families removed to the river Wabash, to commence a mission among the Cherokees.

November the 17th 1808, the venerable brother David Zeisberger finished his earthly pilgrimage, in the eighty-eighth year of his age. Of this long life he had spent above sixty years as a missionary among the Indians, suffering numberless hardships and privations, and enduring many dangers. He had acquired an extensive knowledge of the Delaware language and several other Indian tongues. But most of his translations, vocabularies and other books for the instruction of the Indians, being only in manuscript, were burned on the Muskingum; and the unsettled state of the mission for a long period after, his other multifarious avocations, and his advancing age, did not allow him sufficient leisure or strength completely to make up this loss. His zeal for the conversion of the heathen never abated, and no consideration could prevail on him to leave his beloved Indian flock. The younger missionaries revered him as a father, and before they entered upon their labours, generally spent some time at GOSHEN, to profit by his counsel and instruction. Within a few months of his death he became nearly blind, yet being perfectly resigned to the will of God, he did not lose his usual cheerfulness; and though his body was almost worn to a skeleton, his judgment remained unimpaired. Thus "as a shock of corn cometh in its season, so he came to the grave in a full age, and entered into the joy of his Lord."\*

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\* Since this Work was printed the author has had the pleasure of reading *A Narrative of the Mission of the United Brethren among the Delaware and Mohegan Indians, &c. by John Heckewelder, who was many years in the service of that Mission. Philadelphia, 1820.*

From this publication the following brief Sketch of the life and character of his late brother missionary is extracted :

David Zeisberger was the son of one of those Moravian emigrants, who laid the foundation of the renewed Brethren's Church. He came to America when still a youth, and resided for some time in Georgia, and afterwards at Bethlehem. Ever since the year 1746 he has been engaged in the Mission among the North American Indians.

Having once devoted himself to this service, from the most voluntary choice and the purest motives, he steadily pursued his object, to wit, the glory of God in the salvation of his fellow-men. Never was he so happy as when he had ground for believing, that his endeavours had been the means of converting one sinner from the error of his ways, and leading him to the knowledge of Christ Jesus our Lord. This, in his estimation, was of far higher value, than if he had acquired possession of the whole world. It may be said with

The surviving missionaries continued their labours in GOSHEN, and enjoyed peace and quietness, and even during the war in 1813, when FAIRFIELD was destroyed, they experienced no seri-

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truth, that he watched over his Indian flock with the solicitude of a parent, and cherished them as a nurse doth her children. He followed them in all their wanderings, cheerfully bearing with them the heat and burden of the day, and during the last forty years of his life he was never, at any one time, six months absent from his charge.

He was blessed with a cool, active, and intrepid spirit, unappalled by danger, and with a sound judgment, and clear discernment. He was, therefore seldom taken by surprise, and was generally prepared to meet and overcome difficulties. If once convinced, that he was in the path of duty, he patiently submitted to every hardship, and, with firm fortitude, endured the severest sufferings. In the course of a long life spent among savages he was exposed to many privations, and at times suffered persecution from the enemies of divine truth, who more than once sought his life. But none of these things dismayed him; they rather increased his zeal in the Lord's cause, and in more instances than one has he had the pleasure of baptizing Indians, who not long before had lifted up the hatchet to murder him. At the same time he was of an humble and meek spirit, and always thought lowly of himself. He was a most affectionate husband; a faithful and never failing friend; and every lineament of his character shewed a sincere, upright, benevolent, and generous soul, with perhaps as few blemishes as can be expected in the best of men on this side the grave.

In the evening of his days, when his faculties began to fail him, his desire to depart and be with Christ increased. At the same time he awaited his dissolution with uniform, calm, and dignified resignation to the will of his Maker, and in the sure and certain hope of exchanging this world for a better. His last words were, "Lord Jesus, I pray thee, come and take my spirit to thyself." And again, "Thou hast never yet forsaken me in any trial, thou wilt not forsake me now."—A very respectable company attended his funeral. The solemn service was performed in the English, the Delaware, and German languages, to suit the different auditors. Two sermons were preached from Rev. xiii. 11. and Prov. x. 7.

Zeisberger was a man of low stature, yet well proportioned, of a cheerful countenance, and endowed with a good understanding. He was a friend and benefactor to mankind, and justly beloved by all who knew him, and who could appreciate genuine worth. His words were few, and never known to be wasted at random, or in an unprofitable manner. Plain in his habits, temperate in all things, and blessed with a sound constitution, he generally enjoyed good health, and lived to a far advanced age.

He made himself complete master of two of the Indian languages, the Onondago and the Delaware, and acquired some knowledge of several others. Of the Onondago he composed two Grammars, one written in English, and the other in German. He likewise compiled a Dictionary of the Delaware language, which in the manuscript contained seventeen hundred pages.

ous molestation or interruption. The vicinity of the two colonies of Bersaba and Gnadenhuetten, inhabited by English and Germans, who are members of the Brethren's Church, likewise profited by the visits and services of the missionaries. Hereby a constant friendly intercourse was maintained between these two colonies and the missionary settlement. The missionaries occasionally made itinerant tours through the country, in order to visit those Indians, who formerly belonged to the congregation at Pettquotting, and now were scattered in the wilderness like sheep without a shepherd, and to preach the gospel to the heathen. On these circuits they often, and mostly on foot, travelled three-hundred miles.

The Indians belonging to this congregation, though but few in number, walked consistently with their Christian profession, which the more strongly excited the gratitude of their teachers, as they were daily exposed to the most alluring temptations. Within the distance of only three miles from them, lay a town, a very Sodom, on account of the wickedness of its inhabitants, who, though they were white people and called themselves Christians, lived in the practice of every abomination, and tried every base art to seduce the believing Indians. Hitherto, however, even the weakest among them continued to shew too much reverence for the Word of God, to yield to these temptations; and the missionaries observed also among the young people encouraging evidences, that they were often powerfully impressed with divine truth, and showed an abhorrence of paganism and its concomitant vices and misery. Yet the ungodly lives of the white settlers had an injurious tendency in keeping the

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Nearly the whole of these manuscripts was lost at the burning of the settlements on the Muskingum. A Spelling-book in the same language has passed through two editions. A volume of Sermons to Children, and a Hymn-book containing upwards of five hundred hymns, chiefly translations from the English and German Hymn-books in use in the Brethren's Church, have also been published in the Delaware (or Lenape) language. He left behind him, in manuscript, a Grammar of the Delaware, written in German, and a translation into the same language of Lieberkuehns' Harmony of the four Gospels. The former of these works has since been translated into English, for the American Philosophical Society, by P. S. Du Pouceau of Philadelphia; and the Female Auxiliary Missionary Society of Bethlehem, has undertaken the publication of the Harmony.

savages from attending the ministrations of the gospel ; consequently few conversions from heathenism occurred at GOSHEN. An Indian-girl was baptized on the 6th of January 1817, Brother Luckenbach paid particular attention to the school, and several of the children shewed a good capacity and were able to read the English Testament. Among other exercises they translated portions of Scripture into their own language, which gave the missionaries an opportunity of knowing, whether they understood what they read. The number of inhabitants at GOSHEN did not exceed fifty.

As early as the year 1740 attempts were made by the Brethren to propagate the gospel among the Cherokees, but these and several succeeding endeavours were frustrated by repeated wars among the different Indian tribes, as well as by subsequent hostilities between the English and Americans. Nothing, therefore, was effected by the journeys made by them into this territory, except forming a friendly intercourse with that nation. In 1799 the Brethren's Society (in North America) for propagating the Gospel among the Heathen, received intelligence, that the Cherokees wished to have teachers residing among them. Whereupon the brethren Abraham Steiner and F. C. von Schweinitz were commissioned to visit that part of the country and inquire into the disposition of its Indian inhabitants. But the season being already far advanced, the object of their journey was not fully attained. Meanwhile a correspondence was kept up with some gentlemen, who favoured the undertaking, and resided in those parts. By their advice the two brethren left Salem in North Carolina towards the end of August following, to pay a second visit in that district. In about three weeks they arrived at Tellico on the river Tennessee, being the frontier-town of the United States towards the territory of the Cherokees. Some days after the Chiefs of the two tribes, the Upper and Lower Cherokees, assembled to hold a great council, at which between three and four thousand Indians were present. To this assembly our brethren were introduced and laid before it the object of their journey. After spending several days in consultation, all the Upper

Chiefs declared their approbation of the proposal; but the Lower Chiefs would not agree to it, and appeared rather indifferent.

Every thing having been finally determined upon by the directors of the missions, and the needful permission obtained from the government, the brethren A. Steiner and Gottlieb Byhan went thither in April 1801, and took up their abode with a Mr Vann, who treated them with great kindness, and sent his Negroes to assist in building a cottage on the land appropriated for the use of the mission, subsequently called SPRING-PLACE. Mr. Vann's friendship was of essential service to them, for as the Indians generally respected him, and the worst stood in awe of him, none ventured to molest them. They preached every Sunday at his house to whites, Negroes and Half-Indians. Some of the latter attended very regularly. They could as yet converse but little with the Cherokees, the acquisition of their language being a very arduous task, especially as they found it difficult to procure a good interpreter.

On their arrival in the country the Indians gave them a very cordial reception, and expressed great satisfaction at their coming; but when the missionaries found it impracticable directly to open a school for their children, the great Council at Esternally came to a resolution to order them to quit the country, alleging as a reason for this unexpected resolution, that the missionaries had not kept their promise, no school having yet been begun. But as the Chiefs allowed them half a year for deliberating on this business, every thing was amicably adjusted and arranged to the satisfaction of both parties.

The necessary buildings at SPRING-PLACE being completed, they commenced their school with four Indian boys, whom they lodged, boarded and instructed. Their number was gradually increased, and as our missionaries had not room to accommodate them all, Mr. Vann kindly took some into his own house. Several of them were sons of Chiefs, who appeared very desirous that their children should be instructed. The young people rewarded the labours of their teachers by making



a good progress in reading (both English and Cherokees), writing and arithmetic, and by the pleasure they took in learning hymns and texts of Scripture. They frequently seemed much impressed when the missionaries spoke to them of the love of God in Christ Jesus. After leaving the school they kept up an epistolary correspondence with their former teachers, adverting with delight to their residence at SPRING-PLACE. The endeavours of the Brethren were greatly facilitated by the kind exertions of the agent for the Cherokee nation, colonel Meig, who procured them some assistance for their school from government.

With regard to the principal aim of their residence in this country, they as yet reaped little fruit from their labours. The good disposition of the Cherokees towards them did indeed not abate, but the work of conversion proceeded very slowly. The public preaching, however, was sometimes attended by thirty or forty, and those Indians, who occasionally visited them, appeared in some degree convinced of the importance of the gospel. Their worship was also frequently attended by Negroes, many of whom are kept by the white settlers in these parts, instead of servants. Towards the close of 1814 they had the pleasure to see three Half-Indians commemorate with them the death of the Lord at his table. One of their former scholars, Dazizi, had settled in their immediate neighbourhood, and seemed truly concerned for his salvation. He faithfully assisted them in their domestic affairs. With respect to some others of their scholars the prospect was encouraging.

In externals God blessed the labour of their hands; they introduced several useful trades, cultivated the land with advantage, improved their habitations, and SPRING-PLACE was considered one of the healthiest missionary stations in North America.

About a year after the mission to the Cherokees had been begun, a formal message was sent by the Chiefs and great Council of the Delawares on the river Woapikamikunk, a branch of the WABASH, to the brethren at GOSHEN, requesting that some teachers might be sent to them. Considering this as a new door opened for the diffusion of the gospel, the Christian Indians at GOSHEN, in return sent a solemn message to those

on the WABASH, informing them that several families of their believing countrymen, with some missionaries, would come and instruct them in the Word of God.

Pursuant to this proposal, the brethren Kluge and Luckenbach, and twelve Christian Indians, (including three children,) left GOSHEN towards the end of February 1801, and in a few weeks arrived in safety on the Woapikamikunk, and were received by the people there with every token of pleasure and friendship. They chose an elevated spot for their dwelling, situated between nine populous Indian towns, inhabited by different tribes. Several Indians, formerly baptized by the Brethren, had settled here after the general dispersion of the congregation at the close of the American war. These, having hitherto been forcibly prevented by their pagan relatives from returning to their teachers, the missionaries hoped to collect together again.

They had not been long in this quarter before a few heathen came to reside with them and were baptized. The preaching of the gospel was frequently attended by a considerable number of serious hearers, and the Chiefs treated them with respect and apparent friendship. Their settlement also was improved: at the end of the year 1802 it consisted of ten houses besides the chapel, and contained twenty-three inhabitants. But this quiet and comparative prosperity were soon interrupted. For some time past they had resolved to change their present place of abode; but, as their endeavours to find a convenient spot had not succeeded, they deferred their removal; till danger, which they considered still distant, at once burst upon them attended with all the horrors, which on former occasions but too awfully distinguished the ruthless attacks of the savages on their innocent Christian countrymen.

In the autumn of 1805 one of the Chiefs, who had been their friend and protector, died, and another, who likewise respected and befriended them, was deposed. The savages now became ungovernable, threatened to murder the missionaries, and even killed their cattle before their eyes. This however was only the prelude to a transaction as atrocious as any that

ever disgraced human nature ; as will appear by the following extract from the journal of the missionaries.

“In February 1806 all the Indians in this district were summoned by their teachers, or lying prophets, to assemble on the Woapikamikunk, to hear the foolish stories, fabricated by the emissaries of Satan, of pretended visions and revelations received from God ; and to be instructed how to act in conformity to them. Among these teachers was a Shawanose, an arch impostor. Pretending that he was able to know and discover hidden mysteries, his deluded countrymen submitted to him with profound respect. The Delaware tribe received him with great cordiality, and resolved to hold a grand council, in order to root out all witchcraft and poison-mixing (which, according to their superstitious notions, existed among them,) and by fire to extort confession from all such, as this impostor should accuse ; and whoever would not confess, should be hewn in pieces with their war-hatchets, and burned. With a view to execute their horrid purpose the young Indians got together, chose the most ferocious to be their leaders, deposed all the old Chiefs, and guarded the whole Indian assembly, especially the aged of both sexes, as if they were prisoners of war. The venerable old Chief Tettepachsit was the first whom they accused of possessing poison, and of having destroyed many Indians by his art. When the poor old man would not confess, they fastened him with cords to two posts, and began to roast him at a slow fire. During the torture he said, that he kept poison in the house of our Indian brother Joshua. Nothing was more welcome to the savages than this accusation, for they wished to deprive us of the assistance of this man, who was the only Christian Indian residing with us at that time. They had frequently sent him invitations to attend their heathenish festivities, but he would never accept them. His answer was : ‘ You know that I am a believer in the true God, whose Word we made known to you ; I therefore can have no fellowship with you in your wicked works. Do you as you please, but leave me to serve the living God.’ This answer displeased them much, and on March 13th, they sent seven wild Indians, with

ainted faces, to our settlement, and took him away by main force. They pretended, that he only need tell Tettepachsit to his face, that he had no poison in his house, and he might then return home. All excuses were vain, and Joshua was compelled to accompany them to the assembly at Woapikaminkunk.

“When he was presented to Tettepachsit he frankly confessed, that he had accused him merely to pacify the enraged multitude, and escape from the torture. Joshua was now pronounced not guilty, yet they would not permit him to return, but insisted on his remaining with them till the Shawanose impostor should arrive. This son of Belial arriving the same day, all the Indians of both sexes were ordered by him to sit down in a large circle, when he would declare who had poison in his possession. The two old Chiefs, Tettepachsit and Hackinpomska, were both accused of poison-mixing, and the former was more particularly charged with the untimely death of many Indians. When the Shawanose was asked about Joshua, he indeed declared, that he had no poison, but that he was possessed of an evil spirit, by which he was able to destroy other Indians. Pleased with this verdict, they seized these three poor innocent men, and strictly watched them as condemned criminals. We knew nothing of these horrible events, until the evening of the 16th, when a message was brought, that the savages had burned an old woman, who at a former period had been baptized by the Brethren, and also that our poor Joshua was kept close prisoner.

“On the 17th our distress and fear concerning the fate of Joshua rose still higher. We were stunned with horror on seeing ten of the most savage Indians, with blackened faces, conducting Tettepachsit, arrive in our settlement. Soon after, these murderous wretches kindled a large fire close to our place, and, having given the aged Chief a blow on the head with a war-hatchet, threw him alive into the flames, diverting themselves with the miserable cries and convulsions of the poor dying man. The flames communicated to the grass and wood near the settlement, by which all our dwellings were filled with smoke.

“ After committing this horrid murder, the savages came boldly into our house, boasting of their atrocious deed, and, assuming a hypocritical mien, demanded bread and tobacco, which we were obliged to give them. We took courage to ask them, what would be the fate of Joshua. They immediately began to accuse him, saying, there was good reason for detaining him a prisoner, for they well knew that he understood the black-art, and could destroy the Indians, his faith in our doctrines being a mere pretence. In vain we endeavoured to convince them of the untruth of these assertions. They pretended to set our minds at ease, by saying, that they would not kill him. We charged them to tell their Captains, that they ought well to consider what they were doing ; that Joshua had long been a believer, and had never had any concern with the things of which they accused him, for he was a servant of God, and had renounced the Devil and all his works ; and that he was of the Mahikan tribe, and not a Delaware, and had accompanied us as interpreter. We therefore requested, that they would immediately release him, for we should consider all they did unto him, as done unto ourselves, &c. But they manifested the most diabolical hypocrisy ; for, though they knew, that Joshua was to be murdered that very day, they promised to deliver our words to the Captains. We easily perceived, that our defence of Joshua had displeased them ; and they left our place in a riotous manner.

“ Though we had been informed, that the savages suspected us of keeping poison, for the purpose of making those Indians sick, who would not do as we directed them ; and though we did not know to what length the devil might instigate them to carry their fury, nor what our fate might be ; yet we felt ourselves constrained to go to their assembly, and try what we could do for the preservation of Joshua, or at least to give him comfort and advice, should we even suffer for it. But as my wife and children (writes brother Kluge) could not be left alone in so dreadful a situation, brother Luckenbach took courage to go alone.

“ He had hardly proceeded half way before he met an Indian, who informed him that Joshua had become a victim to

their cruelty on the foregoing day. They had given him two cuts in his head with a hatchet, and then thrown him into the fire. With these dreadful tidings brother Luckenbach returned to us in the afternoon. This was the heaviest stroke we had yet met with. Dread and terror took from us all power of speech and reflection, and we could do nothing but utter cries of lamentation and woe.

"Having, in some degree, recovered ourselves, our first thought was to sell all our goods, and fly as expeditiously as possible towards GOSHEN. During our preparations for the journey, a sudden change of the weather to severe cold prevented us from departing so soon as we intended.

"Some days after we were informed, that Joshua had spoken a great deal, at the place where he was murdered, in a language not understood by the Indians; which led us to suppose, that he had directed his prayers to the Lord in German, which he spoke well. When the savages forced him from us, he was in a very comfortable state of mind, and seemed well prepared to leave the world and as a reconciled sinner to meet his Saviour. In the following days more Indians were accused, and shared the same fate \*."

Not long after this tragical event the missionaries were forced altogether to relinquish the station on the WABASH.

When the Brethren erected the settlement of FAIRFIELD in Canada, they were peculiarly pleased with the facility, which its local situation promised for extending their missionary labours to the CHIPPEWAY Indians, who inhabited several towns only a short distance from its site. In order to carry this benevolent design into effect the missionary C. F. Dencke, who possessed the happy talent of acquiring a new language with ease, and was already well versed in the Delaware tongue, paid several visits to the Chippeways in 1801; and the following year took up his abode among them on a piece of ground, formally allotted to him by the Chiefs. Its situation was very convenient, lying on the river Ionquakamik, and being surrounded by eight Indian villages.

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\* Per. Acc. Vol. iv. I—7.

Here he lived for a time almost separated from society, for, excepting some Indian hunting huts, the nearest human habitation to him was Mr. Harsen's dwelling, about a mile distant, on the opposite side of the river. In a little while, however, two or three Indian families put up their tents near his house; and he was frequently visited by others, some of whom occasionally lodged with him for a night. He omitted no opportunity of commending to them the gospel of salvation; and in some instances his words appeared to gain entrance into their hearts, for they repeated their visits, and declared, that they could not forget his conversation, saying, "it had made them sick at heart." Being obliged to give up a school, which he had commenced with Mr Harsen's boys, as the mother found it inconvenient to send them, he applied himself with the greater diligence to learn the Chippeway dialect, and translated several portions of the Bible. These he read to the Indians who visited him, and they all declared, that they understood them very well.

In the sequel, however, the savages began to express dissatisfaction at his residence among them, fostering a suspicion, that he was come to possess himself of their country. Some even uttered threats against his life, and he was finally obliged to abandon his station and return to FAIRFIELD.

Not discouraged by these repeated failures, the Brethren in North America persevered in their philanthropic endeavours to convey the blessings of Christianity to the heathen nations around them. During a visitation, held by bishop Łoskiel at GOSHEN in the year 1803, it was resolved to begin a new settlement at PETTQUOTTING on lake Erie. Agreeably to this resolution, the missionaries Haven and Oppelt, together with thirty-six Indian brethren and sisters from FAIRFIELD, moved thither in spring 1804, and formed a colony about three miles beyond the towns belonging to the Monsys. At the end of the year this small congregation consisted of sixty-seven persons. Amidst various hardships the courage of the missionaries was strengthened by the experience of the Lord's gracious help, and by clear evidences of the work of his holy Spirit on the hearts of the Indian brethren and sisters. Their worship

was sometimes attended by a considerable number of heathen, though as yet apparently without any salutary effect.

A few years after their arrival they found it would be necessary for them to quit this place, being informed that government had sold this district to some white settlers, which exposed them to the danger of being driven away at a short warning. Besides this the proximity of the Monsy towns and the introduction of the rum-trade, which the missionaries could not prevent, were circumstances very pernicious to the morals of their young people. They, therefore, deemed it expedient to emigrate from Pettquotting, and took up their residence on SANDUSKY CREEK. On its western bank they erected a temporary building on a piece of ground allotted to them by the Monsy tribe. The missionaries, Luckenbach and Hagen, visited two Monsy towns, lying higher up the river, generally twice a week, and preached as often as circumstances would permit. They were likewise invited by the Chief of the Wyondats to come to upper Sandusky. Most of those Indians residing in these parts, who had been baptized in former years, regularly attended divine worship, bringing their children with them. But, though they often seemed much impressed with the truths of the gospel, no material change was wrought on their conduct, as they too easily yielded to the solicitations of the heathen to attend their idolatrous festivities. Very few of the latter ever attended their meetings; and only ten Indian children, most of whom had been formerly baptized, came to the school.

In the year 1812 the Monsy tribe, with a view to whose instruction the missionaries resided in that country, very unexpectedly resolved to leave the banks of the Sandusky and form a settlement on the Huron in the province of Michigan. Forty families consequently emigrated, and among them were all those formerly baptized by the Brethren, some of whom intended to go to FAIRFIELD, if they could obtain permission to pass over to the English territory. After their departure the missionaries deemed it expedient to forsake their present residence, and occupy a house, formerly built by a Presbyterian minister for a school, and which, being unoccupied at the time, was



offered them. They were induced to accept this offer in the hope, that they might from thence visit the Wyondats and Mingoes, and diffuse the knowledge of the gospel among them. This station however was afterwards abandoned.

In the year 1803 the Brethren's Society (in N. America) for propagating the Gospel among the Heathen, directed their attention to the Creek Indians, a very populous nation, computed at seventy or eighty thousand souls, and among whom, through the laudable exertions of the government of the United States, a greater degree of improvement and civilization had been introduced, than was to be met with among the other native tribes. In order to carry their design into effect, they first deputed brother A. Steiner, on his return from SPRING-PLACE, to make a journey into the country of the Creeks. This commission he executed towards the end of the summer in the above mentioned year. He proceeded to Fort Wilkinson on the river Oconu in Georgia, and was treated with great kindness and hospitality by Colonel Hawkins, at whose house he lodged during his stay of seven days. The colonel entered warmly into the proposal for establishing a mission in this part of the country, pointing out the mode most likely to be attended with success, and promising to aid the undertaking in every possible way by his friendship, advice and protection.

Animated by these encouraging prospects two missionaries went to this country, and occupied a house, kindly provided for them by Col. Hawkins, situate on the river FLINT, about sixty miles from Milledgeville, the seat of government in Georgia. Here they diligently applied themselves to the study of the language, and visited the Indians in their own villages. The latter also frequently came to them, chiefly indeed for the purpose of purchasing their manufactured goods, for as yet they evinced but little disposition to hear and believe the gospel. The unsettled state of the country, during the ensuing war, rendered it necessary to abandon this station.

In detailing these minor attempts of the Brethren to propagate the gospel among the Indians, it appeared the most convenient not to interrupt the relation by too nice a regard to the order of time; a reference is therefore made to them all here, as they res-

pectively succeeded each other. We shall now resume the thread of the general narrative.

AFTER the emigration of several families from FAIRFIELD in 1798, for the purpose of commencing the mission at GOSHEN; the former settlement, though considerably diminished in point of numbers, continued in a flourishing state, both as to its temporal prosperity, and the progressive advance of the major part of its inhabitants in those pious and moral habits, which adorn the character of the true Christian. Perplexities and trials of various kinds were indeed not wanting: but their greatest trouble arose from the white people in their vicinity, who, by the introduction of the rum-trade, occasioned many evils in the country, and filled the missionaries with anxious apprehensions for the morals of their young people. But whenever their faith and hope were ready to droop, the Lord rekindled their zeal in his service by giving them fresh proofs of the power of his grace to conquer the most corrupt passions of the human mind, and elicit from the most stubborn heart the tear of repentance. Although few of the neighbouring heathen were savingly affected by the gospel, many of the children born and baptized in the settlement, as they matured in age and understanding, experienced the converting influences of the holy Spirit; and now and then some, who had strayed from the congregation and relapsed into sin, returned, and with true compunction of heart, sought the forgiveness of the Lord and his people. Thus in the year 1812 twenty-two persons of this description were added to the Church; and at the close of that year, the whole number amounted to one hundred and twenty-six persons.

FAIRFIELD, after enjoying tranquillity for more than twenty years, was on a sudden involved in all the troubles of war, in consequence of the contest between England and the United States. On the 2nd of October 1813 seventy sick English soldiers arrived at the settlement, and were accommodated in the school and the chapel. The dwellings, both of the missionaries and Indians, had for some time been occupied by fugitives, whose number was daily increasing. The following

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could tend to impeach their character. They were obliged to leave all their furniture behind them. They had no sooner quitted the place, than part of it was set on fire, and on the following day the rest of the buildings were wholly consumed; not even the smallest out-house was spared.

On the 15th the missionaries arrived at Detroit, where the commandant, General Cass, furnished them with a passport to go to BETHLEHEM. In prosecuting their journey they experienced various and great hardships, but also many signal proofs of the protection of the Lord.

When the news of the approach of an American detachment, and the defeat of the English, first reached FAIRFIELD, our brethren there resolved, that the missionary Schnall and his wife, together with Michael Young, who was aged and infirm, should go to BETHLEHEM; and brother Dencke and his wife remain with the Indians and share in their fate, whatever it might be. They cheerfully acceded to this proposal, determined even to devote their lives to this service.

The Indians, on leaving the settlement, had encamped about six miles higher up the river; but, being alarmed by reports brought by other fugitives, they had all fled into the woods; so that when the missionary arrived at the camp, he found it deserted, and for some time both he and the Indians remained ignorant of each other's situation. In this uncertainty, not knowing which way to direct their steps, they providentially met with a man, who offered to take them in his waggon to Delaware-town. On their way thither, besides other hardships, they had the mortification to be attacked by a gang of Kikapoo and Shawanose robbers, who plundered them of the few articles of clothing, which they had taken with them in their flight from FAIRFIELD, and of the greater part of their other goods, together with their books and manuscripts, not leaving them even a Bible or Testament\*.

But they soon forgot the sorrow, occasioned by these disasters, when they reached Delaware-town on the 12th of October. They had scarcely arrived before a number of the FAIR-

FIELD Indians came running to meet them, and with tears in their eyes offered thanks to God for having thus brought them together again. Messengers were quickly dispatched into the woods to search for those who were still absent: for in their sudden flight parents were separated from children, and children from parents. They were soon collected together, and only one sister was missing, who had been murdered below FAIRFIELD.

Having at length arrived near lake Ontario the Indians built huts for themselves in the woods, a house for the missionary and a chapel, which latter was opened for divine worship at Christmas 1813. At the close of that year the congregation consisted of one hundred and sixty members, besides twenty-three persons not yet baptized, but who had come to winter with them and regularly attended divine service. This situation being deemed rather unsafe, on account of its proximity to the lake and the superiority of the American fleet, they removed the following spring farther towards the mountains, about ten miles from Burlington Heights. One of their heaviest trials arose from the total stoppage of all communication with our congregations in America, and even several letters and parcels, sent from England, did not arrive. They were the more thankful, therefore, to the loyal and patriotic Society at York, (on lake Ontario,) who without being solicited remitted a hundred dollars to the missionary, with an intimation that, should it be needed, it would give them pleasure to render him further assistance, till he could command his own resources.

After the termination of the war they returned to FAIRFIELD, and for some time dwelt in huts on the site of the former buildings, till they had erected a new settlement, rather higher up on the opposite bank of the river, at a little distance from it. This place they began to inhabit towards the end of the summer of 1815, calling it NEW FAIRFIELD; the number of inhabitants then amounted to one hundred and nine. Here they continued to enjoy rest and peace; the missionaries, (whose number had been increased by the arrival of J. R. Schmidt from Bethlehem,) prosecuting their calling with alacrity, and not without encouraging proofs that the Lord blessed

their endeavours for the conversion of the heathen. A very striking instance of this they were favoured to witness in 1816, in the case of an Indian, called Onim, whom the Lord was pleased to make a miracle of grace in the fullest sense of the phrase.

This Indian had from his youth given evidence of his hostility against the mission. He was one of those who calumniated John Papunhank at FRIEDENSHUETTEN\*. At that time he used to wear a tomahawk in his girdle, and when questioned what he intended to do with it, replied, "cleave the missionaries' skulls for deceiving the Indians." This enmity against the missionaries and the Christian Indians generally he manifested on all occasions, till within a few years, when the infirmities of age put a stop to his activity. The first sign of a change of sentiment in him was observed when he entertained the brethren Luckenbach and Zacharias in his cabin at the Mousy-town, on their way to Grand-river. Till then, he had always been lurking in the neighbourhood of our settlements, trying to create disturbances. And being a preacher among his countrymen, he used to dissuade them, by all the means in his power, from embracing the doctrines of the whites. "For," said he, "their skin is white and ours is brown; and our whole manner of life is entirely different from theirs: of course they must also have a different way of happiness; and those Indians who embrace their doctrine are altogether deceived." He taught the existence of three gods; a brown, a white, and a black god; and that each nation should live conformably to the directions received from the god of their colour. The Indians, of course, were to preserve their own religious ceremonies, their feasts, dances, sorceries, &c. He opposed, in particular, the gospel doctrine of the remission of sins; teaching his countrymen, that those, who lived according to the will of the Great Good Spirit, would after this life go to him; but those who acted differently, would be banished to the haunts of the Evil Spirit. He believed not only in the immortality of the human soul, but even asserted, that all crea-

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\* See Loskiel, Part iii. p. 65.

tures, and also trees, and herbs, are inhabited by a living soul; accounting for the withering of the latter, when cut down, by saying, that their indwelling spirit then left them.

From what he said during his last illness, it should appear that he was led to reflect on his lost state by a remark, addressed to him by an Indian sister, Anna Paulina, who met him in December 1815 at the house of a sick woman, whom he was endeavouring to cure by his sorceries; for he had always pretended to great skill in this art. The following spring he was taken ill, when on his way to a Monsy-town, for the purpose of assisting at a feast to be held there. Unable to proceed further than NEW FAIRFIELD, he returned to his friends, who had a camp near the settlement.

On the 10th of March 1816 he sent for brother Jacob, one of the native assistants, and, among other remarks, observed: "A word, lately spoken by one of your Christian Indians, has laid hold of my soul. I begin to be troubled in my mind, and to grow doubtful concerning my spiritual state. My constant cry is: Oh for some one to show me the right way." Having said more to the same effect, Jacob addressed him nearly in the following words: "Thou hast now told me a great deal; I will tell thee something too. Listen to me, Onim! I well remember that ever since I was a little child, thou hast often been with the congregation of Christian Indians, always going from and coming again to us. For many years thou hast heard the gospel which we believe. But till now, thou hast despised and ridiculed it, saying, 'I have another way to be saved, *according to my creation*.\*' But now, when thou art here in a miserable situation, lying on hard boards, unable to help thyself; thy little property spent in drinking; nobody taking care of thee, and death seeming to be at hand: now, dost thou say at last, '*I have brought terror on my mind, because I have been so wicked*?' Oh, that these words of thine were but true! Would to God, thou didst but feel real anxiety about thy condition! For then thy soul might yet be saved. Art thou in-

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\* This is an Indian phrase, implying: According as the Great Spirit and Creator has directed, and appointed for me.



deed convinced that the devil hath deceived thee? Why art thou concerned about thyself at last, at the very end of thy life? In the days of thy health, thou hast despised and mocked at the Word of God; thou hast dissuaded and prevented others, who were disposed to believe; and thou hast tried to entice those away, who joined the congregation. Thou hast made thy jest of the doctrine of the forgiveness of sins. But know thou, that Jesus Christ, the Son of God, the Creator of heaven and earth, became a man: *this is the truth!* He suffered, was tormented to death, and shed His precious blood for the remission of sins: *this is also the truth!* And unless thou obtain pardon of thy many and great sins, through faith in his blood, and thy heart be cleansed therewith, believe me, thou shalt after death go straightway to hell, into everlasting perdition. And there thou wilt find cause to accuse no one, neither men nor God, who made thee, but *thyself, thyself alone.* Nor will thy living with us, as thou desirest, avail thee any thing, unless thou be pardoned and purified from thy sins by the precious blood of Christ, whose mercy thou must earnestly seek. Reflect upon this, and recollect what thou hast formerly heard from us Christian Indians and our ministers."

The next day he was visited by the missionary Dencke, who spoke to him in the same earnest and faithful manner. Among other questions, he asked him, whether it were true, that he had been a murderer and sorcerer? To this he replied: "The former is a false accusation; and sorcery is a deceit of the devil; it is naught: of this I am now convinced." With many tears he lamented his past wicked life, and made so affecting a confession of his faith in Jesus, that all present were melted into tears; and the work of grace, wrought in his heart by the Holy Ghost, was most strikingly manifest. Brother Dencke then explained to him, that the mere rite of baptism could avail him nothing, unless he experienced in his heart, through faith, the purifying power of the blood of Christ; whereupon he exclaimed, "I believe! I believe! Do ye also have pity on me!"

His repentance appearing truly sincere, and his earnest request for baptism to proceed from an ardent desire of receiving this

rite as a seal of the forgiveness of his sins and of acceptance with God through the sacrifice of Jesus: he was baptized in the name of the holy Trinity, and called Leonard. All his former doubts and fears now vanished, he truly enjoyed the peace of God in his soul, and continued in prayer day and night, almost till he drew his last breath, on the morning of the 13th, exalting the mercy of his Redeemer, and inviting all to come unto *Him*, that they might obtain pardon and remission of their sins. Addressing his countrymen he said: "Formerly I spoke evil words to you, when you shewed any desire to be converted, trying to dissuade you from it; forgive me for so doing, and follow my dying advice, which is, to forsake your wicked ways, or else you will be lost. Turn to your Saviour, and experience what I now feel, and you shall live."

"The solemnity attending this transaction" (write the missionaries) "may more easily be conceived than described, and will not soon be forgotten by those who witnessed it. The Christian Indians were filled with joy and exclaimed, 'Onim our enemy is become our brother Leonard!' The conversion and death of this extraordinary man will speak volumes to the heart of his late hearers; and the impression, made thereby upon his heathen countrymen, cannot but, under God, prove highly favourable to the cause of the gospel.\*"

In this hope they were not disappointed. A new awakening seemed to take place among the inhabitants of the settlement, which extended also to the children, and their separate meetings were distinguished by particular devotion and attention to the Word of God. The remarkable conversion of Onim, made a salutary impression, not only upon the Indians, but also upon many white people in that neighbourhood. Several heathen were baptized in 1817, and some, baptized in infancy, were solemnly received as members of the Church. Thus the Lord was verifying unto them his promise: "*In all places where I record my name, I will come unto thee, and I will bless thee.*"

From the foregoing relation it appears, that the United

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\* Per. Acct. Vol. vi. p. 301—309.

Brethren have now continued their labours in propagating the gospel among the North American Indians for more than seventy years, and that at present they occupy three missionary stations, viz. NEW FAIRFIELD in Canada, GOSHEN on the Muskingum, and SPRING-PLACE in the country of the Cherokees. The little success, which has hitherto attended their endeavours, may probably have disappointed the reader's expectation. Were strenuous exertions, indefatigable labour, patient perseverance, constant self-denial, and devoted zeal sufficient to insure success, our missionaries might indeed have collected a greater number of converts, as the preceding pages supply ample proof, that they were not deficient in these qualifications. However, the blessing, which has accompanied their efforts, verifies the divine promise, *My word shall not return unto me void*; while their comparatively small success as clearly demonstrates, that *except the Lord build the house, they labour in vain that build it*. Indeed the peculiar habits and roving disposition of the Indians, the frequent wars among themselves and the white people, and the introduction of the rum-trade, have always operated as strong barriers against the propagation of the gospel, and continue to throw impediments in the way of its converting influence, which nothing but Omnipotent grace can conquer.

From a register of the Indian congregation, dated 1772, it appears, that the number of heathen, baptized by our brethren from the commencement of the mission to that time, amounted to seven hundred and twenty. Of the subsequent years no authentic records remain, as the church-books and other manuscripts were lost at the destruction of the settlements on the Muskingum, and likewise during the warlike commotions in later years. In 1817, the year with which the narrative closes, the number of Christian Indians, belonging to the three congregations of the Brethren, amounted to one hundred and fifty. The missionaries indeed are not anxious to collect great numbers of nominal Christians, but rather wish that those, whom they baptize, should give reasonable proofs, that they truly desire to die unto sin and live unto righteousness. Respecting the number of Indians baptized by the Brethren, Heckewelder states the following: From the commencement of the mission

among the Mohicans in the States of New York and Connecticut in 1740, and among the Delawares in Pennsylvania a year later, to the year 1808 inclusive, between thirteen and fourteen souls were baptized by the Brethren. The exact number cannot be ascertained, on account of the loss of the church-registers; but as to hundreds the number is not overrated. *Heckewelder's Narrative of the Missions, &c*, p. 418.

It may not be altogether irrelevant to the subject, or uninteresting to the reader, before we close this chapter, to insert a short account of the other establishments of the Brethren in North America. For, although they are not *missionary* settlements, yet their existence is of much importance, as affording great facilities for propagating the gospel among the heathen. Besides congregations in the towns of New York, Philadelphia, Lancaster, Newport in Rhode Island, Yorktown and other places; they have several regular settlements, or colonies of their own. The principal of these are, Bethlehem, Nazareth, Lititz, &c., in the state of Pennsylvania; Salem, Bethabara, Friedberg and others in North Carolina; and some smaller colonies in different parts of the country, as Gnadenhuetten on the Mahony, a colony of the same name and Bersaba on the Muskingum, Bethel on the Swatara, &c. These settlements are inhabited by German and English colonists and their descendants, being members of the Brethren's Church. Reference has been made to some of them in the preceding narrative.

The importance of these settlements in relation to the missionary labours of the Brethren is very considerable. Most of the brethren and sisters, employed in the instruction of the Indians, are selected from the inhabitants of these colonies. Having for a longer or shorter period been residents in the country, they have become in some degree acquainted with the character and customs of the people, among whom they are called to labour, and with the peculiar difficulties attending missionary undertakings among the Indians, and are thus better qualified for the due discharge of their important calling. In the American Society for propagating the Gospel among the Heathen, which holds its regular meetings at Bethlehem and Salem, they have a band of faithful friends at hand, always

ready to aid their exertions, assist them with their counsel, and sympathize with them, no less in the day of trial, than in the season of prosperity. An occasional visit to a Christian congregation and intercourse with their brethren and sisters, though but for a few days, tends greatly to strengthen their hands in God, and endow them with renewed fortitude for encountering the hardships and dangers, unavoidably connected with their arduous office. If sickness, or increasing infirmities and old age disable them from further active labours, they meet in these settlements with a comfortable retirement in the midst of their former friends. Here are also institutions for the education of their children in science and literature, and for their instruction in manual labour, trade and business of various kinds.

The converted Indians themselves derive essential benefit from these establishments. They furnish them with occasional opportunities, when on a journey, of beholding the order, piety and devotion of a Christian congregation. The good impression thereby made upon their minds they carry home with them, and it serves to cherish among their believing countrymen a disposition to value the salutary regulations, introduced by the missionaries in their own villages. Besides, these settlements have, at different times, offered a safe retreat to the Christian Indians, when persecuted by their pagan countrymen, or suffering from the ravages of war\*.

The facilities, afforded by these settlements to the missionary exertions of the Brethren, are not confined to the Indians, but extend to other heathen, equally needing the glorious light of the gospel to dispel their mental darkness. It is well known, that many thousand African Negros live with the white settlers, especially in Carolina and Virginia. These poor people have for some years engaged the special attention of the Brethren, and the ministers of their Church in different places have frequently visited and preached to them. Several have been baptized and admitted to communion with those of their congregations, in whose vicinity they reside. And the Brethren's North American Society for propagating the Gospel among

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\* See p. 134, and 144.

the Heathen, is perseveringly engaged in devising means, and employing active measures, for enlarging its sphere of usefulness in this field of missionary labours.

In concluding the history of this eventful mission, the author gladly avails himself of the remarks contained in one of the letters from the Society, which has just been mentioned, as the reflections, suggested in that letter, naturally arise from the peculiar circumstances of this mission. "It should appear, that Providence suffers our Indian brethren to wander about as a cloud of witnesses, so that they may justly be compared to a moveable net, and to leaven working in secret. Though their lot, to be driven about like hunted deer, seems hard and grievous; yet we may discern the wisdom of God in it. For wherever this small flock of Jesus resides, it excites attention, and many heathen, moved by curiosity, inquire the cause of their wanderings, and of their peculiar mode of living, not only separated from their friends and relations, but even suffering persecution from them; and ask, why they abhor war and bloodshed. In answer to these questions, they hear the gospel and the doctrine of the God of love and peace. This they do not easily forget; they bring it home with them, repeat it to others, either in levity or seriousness, and thus the Spirit of God prepares many, in a way unknown to us, for conversion, of which we have had several joyful instances. When the great harvest of the Lord comes, we shall find that the sufferings of our Indians have brought much fruit to God and the Lamb. Till that wished-for period arrives, we will continue to water the seed sown with our prayers and tears. And, beloved brethren, let us be steadfast, immoveable, always abounding in the work of the Lord, for we know that, though the world may account it so, our labour is *not* in vain in the Lord\*."

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\* Per. Acct. Vol. i. 96

## CHAP. IV.

### MISSION IN SOUTH AMERICA.

THE missionary labours of the United Brethren in South America have been hitherto confined to that part of this vast continent, which is known by the general name of *Guiana*. This territory lies on the northern coast, extending from the 4th to the 7th degree of north latitude. On this coast the Dutch, French and English have several possessions, the principal of which are *Surinam*, *Berbice*, *Demerary*, *Cayenne*, and *Essequibo*. The climate is very unhealthy, being humid and sultry. The country is level, overgrown with impervious thickets and immense forests, the haunts of serpents and other venomous reptiles; it is also exposed to frequent inundations. The soil is uncommonly fertile, and vegetation so rapid, that several crops can be reaped in succession in a year. It is watered by several large rivers, near the mouths of which the European Colonies are formed, and from which they derive their names.

The inhabitants consist of European settlers and their descendants, called *White People*, of *Negro slaves*, imported from Africa for the cultivation of the land, and their descendants, who are called *Creoles*, of *Free Negroes* who are runaway slaves, and who after various contests with the Dutch, were declared a free people, and now occupy several villages on the Surinam, south of the Dutch colonies, and of the Aborigines, or original inhabitants of the country. These live dispersed through the woods and forests, under the general appellation of *Indians*. They are divided into several tribes, of which the principal are, the *Arawaks*, *Waraus* and *Wacquais*. To these must be added the *Caribs*, who settled here after being expelled from the West Indies by the Europeans. By their cruelties they have rendered themselves formidable to the na-

tive Indians, usurping a degree of authority over them. Each of these tribes has its own language.

Their chief subsistence is derived from the chase and fishing. Of vegetables they principally cultivate cassabi, of which they make a kind of bread. Their general habits and mode of living differ little from the manners of their brethren in North America. Of God and divine things their ideas are very limited. Their common notion is, that there exists one invisible powerful Being, the dispenser of all good; and likewise a no less mighty being, the author of every evil. They imagine they can destroy the influence of the latter by various necromantic tricks; and as they fear nothing from the former, they never think of performing any acts of reverence, or religious worship, to secure his favour.

That part of Guiana, in which the settlements of the Brethren lie, was at the commencement of the mission in the possession of the Dutch, to whom, after changing masters for a short time during the late war, it was restored on the conclusion of peace.

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THE late bishop Spangenberg, (of whom mention was made in the preceding chapter,) on his way to England in 1784, passed through Holland. Here he had several consultations with the Directors of the Dutch Trading Company for Surinam, the result of which was, that the Brethren agreed to form one, or more colonies in that country, with a view to the conversion of the heathen. Agreeably to the arrangements then made, three brethren proceeded to Surinam the following year, and spent some time in Paramaribo, in order to inquire on the spot, into the practicability and best mode of establishing a mission in that quarter of the globe. After their return to Europe, a gentleman in Amsterdam requested that some of them would settle on one of his plantations on the *Rio de Berbice*, for the purpose of instructing his Negros in Christianity. Considering this as a door opened to them for the enlargement of the kingdom of Christ, they cheerfully acceded to his request and

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directed their first attention to the Negroes on his estates. If as their exertions were, in the sequel, extended to other parts of the coast, a brief relation of each of these shall now given in separate sections.

## SECTION I.

### *Pilgerhut on the Rio de Berbice.*

IN consequence of the offer above stated two brethren, L. Daehne and J. Guettner, left Holland in June 1738, and arrived the following September in Berbice. As they brought strong recommendations with them from Holland, the stewards and managers of the estates suspected that they had been sent for the purpose of secretly inspecting their conduct; and this account rendered their situation as unpleasant and difficult as possible. But God endowed them with faith and patience and blessed the labour of their hands, so that, being content with very frugal fare, they could support themselves without depending on the favor of the stewards. Their greatest grievance was, that their situation precluded the possibility of attaining the principal object of their residence in the country. Unacquainted with the language of the slaves, they had even a prospect of learning it, as the rigour, with which the poor creatures were treated, rendered it extremely difficult to have any intercourse with them.

In the midst of this perplexity God himself provided for them. A gentleman of the Surinam Trading Company, without solicitation, offered them a retired and tranquil residence on an estate. Thankful for this providential direction they moved to the place pointed out, where they took possession of a plantation, and tilled a piece of ground, lying in the midst of a forest, about a hundred miles distant from the sea coast, and called it PILGERHUT. This gentleman likewise procured from the President of the Surinam Company in Holland a recommendation of the Brethren, so favourable in its tenor, that the governor, who had hitherto been rather inimically disposed, felt compelled to give them no further molestation.

Having thus obtained rest from without, they began to visit the Indians in that neighbourhood, some of whom understood a little Dutch. They soon gained the love and confidence of these good-natured people, who with apparent pleasure listened to the instructions, they endeavoured to give them concerning God, the Creator and Redeemer of man. But, as their ideas of God and divine things were few and exceedingly obscure, the missionaries clearly saw that very little could be effected, till they had learnt the language, and for the acquisition of this the labour necessary for their support left them but little leisure. They, therefore, requested the directors of the missions to send out a married couple, to manage the temporal concerns of their little settlement.

The Brethren in Europe having meanwhile gained a more correct knowledge of the Surinam Mission, and obtained a formal concession from the Surinam Company to establish a regular settlement on that river, five brethren were sent thither in the year 1739, and this company was further augmented the following year by the arrival of Fr. Regnier, M.D. and his wife. As they could not immediately purchase a piece of ground in an eligible situation, they took lodgings in the town of Paramaribo. Here they became acquainted with a pious citizen, Abraham Boemper, who built a small house for them. Their whole establishment was very poor; but they lived together in peace and brotherly love; God blessed the labour of their hands, and, notwithstanding their mean fare and the inconvenience of their dwelling, their health did not suffer, which they remarked as a particular providence, for in general the climate of Surinam is so injurious to the constitution of Europeans, that more than one half die almost immediately on their arrival. Their family devotions were frequented by great numbers, among whom were many Jews. This excited observation, and, through the machinations of their enemies, they were strictly forbidden by the ecclesiastical and civil authorities, to grant any strangers admission to their religious meetings. After some time they succeeded in purchasing a plantation, about a mile from the town, which they cultivated with their own hands and with the assistance of three Negros, whom Mr.

Boemper lent them. Many white people again attended their family devotions and became convinced of the purity of their doctrine and the probity of their intentions. But, finding it impossible to attain the proper object of their calling in this place, they sold their land and premises and bought a small plantation on the river *Cottika*, where they lived in the immediate neighbourhood of the Indians. No permanent advantage, however, was gained by this removal. They could have very little intercourse with the Indians, their knowledge of the Ar-awak language being still extremely defective; their harmony was interrupted and dissensions arose among them. These circumstances led to the final relinquishment of this station in 1745. After this digression we now return to the settlement on the *Rio de Berbice*.

With a view to assist the missionaries in PILGERHUT, Henry Beutel and his wife went thither in 1739; and two years after their number was further increased by the arrival of John Grabenstein and his wife. The brotherly love prevailing among them sweetened all their external hardships and poverty, and rendered them cheerful amidst their incessant manual labours.

This circumstance, however, greatly retarded the progress of the mission with regard to its most important object, though PILGERHUT possessed many local advantages for obtaining it. It was situate at some distance from other European settlements, many Indians resided in its neighbourhood, and the savages were continually travelling through the place, so that hardly a day passed, on which the missionaries were not visited by individuals, or whole companies. But these favourable circumstances could be but little improved by them. Their number was too small to attend both to the temporal concerns of the settlement, and to the preaching of the gospel, which required not only a more perfect knowledge of the language of the heathen, but also frequent visits to them in their own habitations, and demanded their undivided time and attention. Both these difficulties were shortly after removed. For, when the establishment on the *Cottika* was abandoned in 1745, two of the missionaries moved to PILGERHUT, and two brethren with

their wives arrived from Europe. This accession of numbers enabled them more regularly to distribute the necessary labour in the mission, some attending chiefly to its temporal concerns, while others devoted themselves more especially to the work of the ministry.

About the same time a gentleman presented them with a mulatto boy, who assisted them in acquiring a more correct knowledge of the Arawak language. He was in the sequel converted to God, and they found him of great use, as an interpreter, in their attempts to preach to the heathen. They now made frequent visits among the savages, travelling a circuit of three hundred miles through a vast wilderness. These journeys were attended with great dangers and difficulties. They were obliged to carry their provisions with them, wade through broad and deep rivers, or hastily construct a raft to cross them, and often to spend the night in the forest, sleeping in their hammocks, suspended from trees. And, what was still more distressing, if they came to an Indian hut, and the men were not at home, the women, who were always terrified at the approach of white people, set up a great shriek and ran into the wood; and thus their toils and fatigues had been endured in vain. Not deterred by this, they persevered in their benevolent exertions, and their kind and affable deportment, by degrees, conciliated the affections and won the confidence of the savages.

Assisted by their mulatto boy, they compiled a concise narrative of the life and sufferings of Christ, in the Arawak language, subjoining a brief summary of the fundamental doctrines of the gospel. This tract they took with them when visiting the Indians, read it to them, and expatiated on its contents, accompanying their exhortations with fervent prayer. The mulatto youth himself now became a preacher of righteousness, and addressed the savages in so striking a manner, that they were powerfully affected, and circulated among their countrymen the news of the *great word* which they had heard.

Thus after a residence in this country of nearly nine years, amidst many heavy trials, and without seeing any fruit from their labours, the time arrived, when, after having sown in

tears, they were favoured to reap in joy. Towards the close of 1747 they had the satisfaction, which they had so long and ardently prayed for, to perceive that the divine Spirit was exciting a real hunger after the Word of God among the Arawaks. They frequently visited them, burning with desire to hear more of Christ crucified. This inflamed the zeal of the missionaries to return their visits ; and the very women, who had formerly fled on their approach, now became their guides through the wood. Passing by the huts of such as were disposed to mock and ridicule their endeavours, they conducted them to those dwellings of the Indians, where they knew they would find eager hearers. Wherever they came they met with a warm reception ; all the inhabitants seated themselves around them, and listened to their discourse with the greatest silence and eagerness.

In March 1748 the first Arawak Indian obtained admission to the Church of Christ by holy baptism. It was an old woman, decrepid with age and scarce able to walk. About forty of the savages were present at this solemn transaction, and it made such a deep impression upon them, that they were suffused in tears. Several men came the next day, and with much importunity begged to be admitted to the same privilege. The change, wrought in the baptized, was visible in their very countenances and appeared in their whole conduct. This together with their conversation among their friends had such an effect, that hardly a week passed, in which this sacred rite was not administered to one, or more converts, on their profession of faith in Jesus. Thus already by the end of June the baptized amounted to thirty nine, among whom were several venerable old people.

Many of the converts could not endure the thoughts of leaving the missionaries and again returning to their former places of abode, and therefore requested permission to erect some huts on the land of the settlement, promising to cultivate a piece of ground for their support. The missionaries the more joyfully acceded to this proposal, as by having them thus constantly near them, they would be the better able to teach them to observe all things whatsoever Jesus hath commanded. This

outweighed every consideration of the trouble and expense, unavoidably connected with such an arrangement, as they must maintain all these people till the cassabi, sown on the new ground, was ready to reap ; for most of the produce of their former fields had been stolen by the savages. By the end of the year eighty Indians, including children, lived in the settlement.

Before our Brethren in Europe could receive any intelligence of this awakening, the directors of the missions had come to a resolution, to appoint a man of learning to superintend the establishment at PILGERHUT, conceiving that he would more easily acquire a knowledge of the language and other local circumstances. They found a person, well qualified and willing to undertake it, in Theoph. Sol. Schuman, late a tutor in the Protestant cloister of Bergen in Saxony. He arrived in the country in the autumn of 1748, and in one year acquired such proficiency in the language, that he could translate several portions of the holy Scriptures and converse with the natives without an interpreter. He ended his useful and active life here, October 6th, 1760, after serving this and the other missionary institutions of the Brethren in Guiana, for twelve years, with indefatigable zeal and faithfulness, during which period he made two visits to Europe in concerns of the mission.

While the missionaries were filled with joy and gratitude for the success attending their endeavours, and counted no difficulties or labours, which might in any degree tend to further the noble cause in which they had embarked, too hard ; the adversaries were not remiss in their attempts to oppose this growing work. Some white people, displeased with the conversion of the Indians, tried to make them jealous of the missionaries. And when this did not succeed, they insinuated that the numerous assemblies at PILGERHUT might tend to excite a rebellion, and that it would be wise in government positively to prohibit these meetings for the future.

However the governor, Mr. Loesner, paid no attention to these representations, but on every occasion testified the pleasure he felt in contemplating the blessing of God, which so evidently rested on the labours of the missionaries. But it was

not long before an unfavourable change took place in the government. Mr. Loesner received his dismissal, and though he most warmly recommended the mission to his successor, it soon appeared that this gentleman was not very favourably disposed. Shortly after his arrival he summoned the missionaries to appear before the Council. On their appearance he read to them the orders of the directors in Amsterdam, requiring their taking a formal oath, adding, that, in case of refusal, he would send them by the first ship back to Europe. Brother Schuman answered, that as some of them had scruples of conscience against taking an oath, they would abide by the declaration made on their arrival in the country, and, in case of a breach of their simple affirmation, they would consider themselves liable to the same penalty as if they had been guilty of perjury. Having with modesty and firmness replied to some other questions, and remonstrated against several restrictions, intended to be imposed on their labours; their adversaries were silenced, and the Council finally resolved, that their simple affirmation should be accepted instead of an oath.

The enemies of the mission, who for some time had rather too loudly expressed their joy at its approaching destruction, finding themselves thus unexpectedly disappointed, again resorted to their former contrivance, and endeavoured to render the Indians suspicious of the missionaries, by insinuating that they would make them slaves. But, though the idea of slavery was more formidable to these people than death itself, they were so firmly persuaded of the sincerity and affection of their teachers, that the white people effected nothing by these base insinuations\*. Thus the missionaries enjoyed a season of rest and tranquillity, and the number of the congregation was gradually increased.

In the beginning of the year 1750 a deputation of eleven savages arrived at PILGERHUT from the Spanish possession on

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\* A clergyman, whom Schuman visited some time after, candidly owned, that he had written several things to the Council and to Holland against the Brethren, but having now gained a more accurate knowledge of them, he was resolved to take Gamaliel's advice, Acts v. 38. He ever after kept his promise.

the river Oronoco. These people had been visited by one of the Christian Indians, and his conversation had made such an impression upon their minds, that they now came to hear the *great word* from the missionaries themselves. Their embassy led to the result, that in the sequel several pagans from that territory (a distance of about eight or ten days' journey) embraced the gospel and settled at PILGERHUT. A visit, made by some of the converts to their relatives on the river *Corentyn*, was followed by consequences equally pleasing. Their testimony of the grace they had experienced excited the astonishment of their friends, who sent a deputation of seven men to PILGERHUT to inquire what the good news was, which the missionaries announced to the Indians in the name of their Creator. Before the end of the year several companies, consisting of fifteen or twenty persons, came from those parts to settle at PILGERHUT. The missionaries remark: "It is impossible to behold these people without deep emotion. There are some very aged persons among them, who have come hither on crutches, a journey of four or five days. They have left a district, where they had abundance of provisions, and now are satisfied with a very small pittance, that they may daily hear of Jesus. Without reckoning those, who occasionally visit us, there are at present three hundred belonging to our congregation, of whom two hundred live in the settlement."

Scarce had they been enlivened by this pleasing progress of the mission, when new troubles broke out. Their enemies, at home and abroad, were still secretly plotting the ruin of their establishment. One of the directors of the Surinam Trading Company arrived from Holland, with unlimited powers to make such regulations as should be deemed most advantageous to the trade. This gentleman lent a willing ear to the complaints, that the endeavours of the missionaries for the conversion of the Indians were injurious to the interests of the Company. In November brother Schuman was summoned before him and the Governor. The former in an imperious tone demanded, that the missionaries should not draw the Indians to their settlement, but let them live dispersed in the woods, that they should clothe their converts, and pay a personal tax for



them, equivalent to that charged on the white people. He more particularly insisted, that the Indians should be required to lend their services to the Dutch colony, and that the missionaries should be compelled to take the oath prescribed, perform military duty, and appear on the parade. To every one of these demands Schuman replied in so satisfactory and convincing a manner, that the conscience of the director was touched, and he remarked, not without considerable emotion : " that he knew the Brethren were quiet, peaceable, and regular people, but that he was not authorised to exempt them from bearing arms and taking oaths. If his superiors in Holland would grant them a dispensation from these duties, he would not only make no objections, but assist them as far as he could, and allow them eight months in order to refer their petition to the mother-country." He dismissed Schuman with expressions of kindness : and a few days after was suddenly removed by death.

The vexations of the missionaries, however, did not terminate here. Once the governor sent some soldiers to PILGERHUT, who forcibly compelled two of the Christian Indians to serve in the colony. This so terrified the rest, that many of them fled into the forest : by degrees, however, they all returned. When new missionaries arrived in 1751, they were again commanded to take an oath, and those who had scruples of conscience on this point, were obliged to return in the same ship to Europe. This greatly increased the labours of those who remained, especially as one of them, after six years' faithful service, departed this life.

For several years no further impediments were thrown in the way of their operations. Their plain, but zealous, testimony of the death and resurrection of Jesus had a mighty influence in convincing the heathen of sin, and establishing their converts in the obedience of faith. The visits of savages from distant regions still continued, and through them the knowledge of the gospel was widely diffused. Many came and took up their residence at PILGERHUT ; among whom were some of the rudest and most ferocious tribe, being considered even by the Arawaks as the greatest barbarians, for they feast upon the

flesh of those whom they have taken and killed in war. But the word of the cross tamed these tigers in human shape, and changed their ferocity into the meekness of the lamb.

The congregation increased in grace and evidenced their faith by a conduct and conversation consistent with their Christian profession, and by the simple utterances of their feelings when they described the change wrought in them by divine grace, and their desire to press forward to the mark set before them. One of them, wishing to write to our Brethren in Europe, dictated the following: "Having arrived at manhood, I spent many years without any knowledge of my Saviour. When I afterwards became desirous to experience what I heard, it was granted me. Jesus has cleansed me in his blood, and delivered me from my *disobedience*\*. This truth, that he died and shed his blood for me, hath conquered and captivated my heart: this I can never forget; and therefore will I love him with all my soul, and daily give my whole heart to him. I fervently pray, that he will keep me, and never suffer me to stray from him, or lose the impression of his death and sufferings. His love to me is astonishingly great, therefore hath he drawn me to himself." Another expressed himself thus: "I love my Creator with my whole heart, and I rejoice that when I leave this earth, I shall go to him, and worship at his feet, who hath washed me from my sins in his own blood. He gives me eternal life. He knows my heart. I had gone astray from him; but he appeared and took away my polluted, evil and flinty heart, and gave me a heart of flesh: for his blood hath purified and softened it. It remains indelibly impressed on my mind that he hath shed his blood for me. He hath granted me the grace, that I can leave this world in assured hope, and full of joy go to him and behold him as he is." In this confident expectation of eternal glory the missionaries saw several of their converts quit this stage of life; the fear of death, so natural to them in their pagan state, being completely vanquished by faith and the hope of immortality.

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\* In the Arawak language there is no other term for sin, but *disobedience* and this perfectly accords with scripture. Rom. v. 19.

Another circumstance, which greatly promoted the prosperity of the mission, was, that about this time several of the converts were sufficiently advanced in knowledge, and prepared by the Spirit of God, to assist in preaching the gospel. These assistants afforded the missionaries essential service, especially in visiting and discoursing with the savages, and likewise in accompanying their Christian countrymen, when going out to hunt, or fish, or till their fields, which lay at some distance in the woods. On these occasions pretty large parties used to go together and be several days, or even weeks, away from the settlement. The assistants, who accompanied them, held daily meetings for prayer and exhortation, endeavoured to preserve good order and maintain brotherly love among them, and gave in reports to the missionaries, with a view that, as far as possible, every thing might be averted which might tend to injure the cause of the gospel. They had now within the space of eight years, since God began visibly to bless their labours, baptized three hundred and sixty-seven persons, of whom forty-eight had died. At the close of the year 1756 there lived at PILGERHUT two hundred and thirty-three persons, besides some children not yet baptized, and, reckoning the converts who resided in the neighbourhood, the whole number amounted to upwards of three hundred.

This hopeful progress of the work was about this time slightly threatened, by a demand made by the new governor, M. Van Ryswyk, that they should send all those Christian Indians, who belonged to the Berbice territory, away. But, upon proper representation, that not one in ten of those, who lived in the settlement, had come from that territory, and that they never wished to interfere with the affairs of the Dutch colony, he withdrew his demand, commended their benevolent exertions, and ever after befriended them.

Under these favourable auspices they and their flock of converted Indians began the year 1757 with joy and thanksgiving, happily unconscious of the heavy sufferings, which a God, infinitely wise and righteous in all his works, in the sequel permitted to assail them, doubtless to try their faith and constancy. The wife of brother Schuman, having unexpectedly

departed this life, while he was at Paramaribo on concerns of the mission, he found it necessary to visit Europe in 1758. Thus PILGERHUT was left without an ordained minister, and the two missionaries, who resided there, and had hitherto assisted in the ministry, did not think themselves authorized to baptize, or dispense the Lord's Supper. And an ordained minister, who was expected from North America, did not arrive, as he could find no ship bound for Surinam. This proved injurious to the spiritual course of the congregation. To add to their discouragements, a contagious disease broke out the following year, and raged for many months, spreading consternation and death through the whole country. Not less than forty of the Christian Indians died within one year, and, as numbers had left the settlement, and many of those who remained were confined by illness, divine service was often attended by no more than ten or twelve persons. This distress was further augmented by a dearth of provisions in the Berbice territory.

When brother Schuman returned in the spring of 1760, he found the congregation greatly diminished, and the whole country in the most deplorable situation. Nearly one half of the Dutch colonists and also the governor had been carried off by the prevailing epidemick. His arrival, however, revived the faith of the missionaries, and diffused new life through the congregation. But their joy was of short duration; for in less than six months after his return, it pleased the Great Head of his Church to call him to his eternal rest. His removal appeared an irreparable loss to the mission; and the wound, inflicted by this event, was opened afresh, a few weeks after, when two active young brethren, who had come with him from Europe, likewise finished their earthly pilgrimage.

The contagion still raged with unabating violence, and the famine became so general, and rose to such a pitch, that the Indians for months had nothing to sustain life but wild roots and fruits. The missionaries indeed obtained a scanty supply from Paramaribo; but their fare was exceedingly frugal, and it occasioned frequent attacks of illness. In consequence of these calamities PILGERHUT was almost deserted, and this set-

tlement, which a couple of years before, contained nearly four hundred inhabitants, was at the end of 1762 reduced to twenty-two.

Still the missionaries were determined not to abandon their post, but, in hope of better times, patiently to persevere in their labours. Towards the end of February 1763, however, an event occurred, which would have rendered it the height of presumption to remain there any longer. In the night preceding the first of March and the following day they were alarmed by the discharge of cannon, and in the evening they received authentic intelligence, that all the Negros had risen in rebellion, murdering several white people, and obliging the rest to fly.

The insurgents had already cut off all communication with the Fort by land or water. The next day, hearing that the rebels were within a few miles of the settlement, they resolved to proceed without loss of time to *Demarary*. They effected their escape by water in two companies; the missionaries Beutel and Climan, together with the wife of the former and the widow Bambay, still remaining at PILGERHUT, in order, if possible, to retain possession of it. But for the sake of safety they spent the night in the wood. The fugitives encamped in a thick forest on the banks of a small river, about nine miles from PILGERHUT. Of the subsequent events, Beutel, one of those who had remained in the settlement, gives the following relation :

“March 5th I went to *Matare* to learn the disposition of the Negros towards us. They told me, that *they* would not harm us, well knowing that the Brethren had not done *them* any hurt; but they could not be answerable for the more embittered Negros, who threatened to murder *all* the white people, and intended to come to PILGERHUT that day. On receiving this intelligence we penetrated farther into the wood, and encamped there. Here we were visited by seven Negros, whose looks were rather savage: but they departed in peace, after taking our two best guns, promising not to injure us, as we were *good* people. We, however, thought it most prudent now to join the rest of our brethren. Upon this some of the missionaries

immediately proceeded to Demarary, where they met with a kind and hospitable reception. Climán, Vester, and myself went once more to the settlement to fetch away such of our things, as had not been taken by the Negros, and on the 2nd of April we commenced our final emigration.

Having, at length, arrived at Demarary, Mr. Finnet very kindly provided us with the necessary accommodations on his estate; and the Christian Indians, who came with us, likewise found here the needful means of support."

During this insurrection the Fort had been burnt, and the whole country laid waste. The Brethren lost property to a very considerable amount; but they regretted nothing so much as the loss of the Arawak Grammar and Dictionary, which had been compiled with immense labour by the late brother Schuman.

Thus terminated the once flourishing mission on the Rio de Berbice. Most of the missionaries returned to Europe; and Climán and Vester, who still remained in Demarary, shortly after finished their earthly career. The few Indian converts, who had come with them from PILGERHUT, went afterwards to the settlement, which had been begun a few years before in the territory of Surinam.

## SECTION II.

### *Sharon on the Saramacca.*

THE reader will recollect that the establishment, begun by the Brethren in the territory of Surinam on the river Cottika, was abandoned in 1745. However, the idea of commencing a mission in this district was not entirely relinquished, and events soon occurred, which rendered it very desirable to make new efforts in these parts. The land belonging to PILGERHUT was found insufficient for the maintenance of the many Christian Indians who resided there. This led to their frequent dispersion, which proved detrimental to their progress in Christian knowledge and practice. The directors of the missions, being

desirous of removing these impediments, sent two brethren, C. Daebne, (who had been in the country before but had returned to Europe) and Mark Ralfs, to Paramaribo, for the purpose of enquiring into the practicability of forming one or more missionary settlements in the territory of Surinam. They arrived on the last day of the year 1754, hired a private lodging, and worked at their trades, with a view to watch a favourable opportunity for effecting their purpose. Through the friendly interference of Mr. Loesner, they found in the present governor, Van der Meer, a kind friend and benefactor, who was willing to promote their design. They had, however, to wait till the year 1756, before they could obtain the consent of the government in Holland, together with a renewal of those privileges, which had been conceded to the Brethren in 1740.

Every needful preparation being thus made, two married missionaries, who had formerly resided in the country and understood the language, together with five unmarried brethren, left Holland and arrived in Surinam in November. They were accompanied by Nicholas Garrison, formerly a naval-captain, who had volunteered his services to navigate the rivers and assist in surveying the land granted to them. They entered upon this business before the end of the month, and succeeded in surveying and laying out a considerable tract of land for two settlements, the one on the river Corentyn, and the other on the Saramacca. The hardships and dangers, attending this undertaking, were almost incredible, but God often helped them in the most wonderful manner.

When they arrived in the mouth of the Corentyn, Grabenstein, one of the missionaries grew so ill, that they were obliged to sail up the river with all possible expedition to bring him to the house of the postmaster, where he expired in a few days. Capt. Garrison, though he had made many long and perilous voyages, was often thrown into the greatest perplexity. He writes himself, "when we reached the mouths of rivers, with which I was totally unacquainted, we were frequently in the most imminent danger of suffering shipwreck, and of losing our provisions and every thing else on board. That we escaped these disasters, I ascribe not to my own skill, nor to any

human aid, for there was none within our reach, but to the invincible agency of divine Providence. All the brethren, except Daehne and myself, were sick. Our difficulties were not a little increased, as we had to transact our business in the rainy season, which this year was uncommonly severe. In measuring the land we had constantly to wade in water, and more than once Daehne and I spent forty-eight hours in heavy rain in a small canoe."

Amidst many and great difficulties, and by means of indefatigable exertions, they succeeded in taking possession of a large piece of land, capable of supplying a numerous congregation of Indians with the means of subsistence, the soil being very fertile, and fit for the cultivation of sugar, coffee, cocoa, cotton, &c. besides cassabi, which is their daily food. Early in spring 1747, the missionaries began to build, and plant, and called the place SHARON.

Desirable as the situation of the new settlement was, its erection was in the beginning attended with various difficulties. In consequence of their incessant labours in building houses and improving the land the missionaries fell sick one after the other. For five or six months they could reap nothing from their own plantations, and the Indians, who resided with them, were as yet too few in number to obtain much by the chase, or by fishing. They were under the necessity of procuring most of their provisions from Paramaribo, and, till they got a boat of their own, this was not easy, for the Negros, who carried them, had to cross an extensive swamp, where, in the rainy season, they were obliged to wade up to the middle in water. In the sequel they obtained a little sloop of their own, and some of the Indians were always found willing to go with her and fetch provisions. On one of these voyages, as they were returning to SHARON, a Spanish ship, cruising along the coast, sent a boat to their vessel to plunder; but one of the Indians, who could speak Spanish, answered their questions with great freedom, adding "you must take none of these things; they belong to the Brethren on the Saramacca, who teach us the way of salvation; they want these things, and our Creator knows and sees all you are doing." These remarks, flowing from the lips



of an Indian, reached the consciences of these rude people, and they returned to their ship without taking any thing.

The missionaries considered themselves more than compensated for all their external trials by the hopeful prospect, that a numerous congregation of believing Indians would be collected in this settlement. Among its first inhabitants, who had come from PILGERHUT and other places, grace, simplicity and brotherly love prevailed, and the work of the Spirit of God evidenced itself in young and old; not excepting even the children. Visits from the neighbouring heathen likewise became very frequent, among whom were many of the Carribbee tribe. These came in companies of from ten to twenty at a time, and listened with eagerness to the conversations of the missionaries and their assistants. Several, after a short time, returned, took up their abode at SHARON, and received the seed of the Word in a good and honest heart, bringing forth the fruits of righteousness; while others, who could not be admitted into the settlement, formed small colonies in the vicinity.

Suddenly, however, this bright prospect was darkened by a gathering storm. The establishment of the Brethren on the Saramacca was exceedingly disliked by the Bush-Negros, who lived in the adjacent woods, and whose habitations were safe asylums for run-away Negro-slaves. But the flight of the latter was rendered very difficult by the many villages, now built by the Carribbees on the Saramacca, and who lay in wait for the fugitives, as government allowed them fifty florins for every run-away slave they seized. The Bush-Negros, therefore, resolved to destroy SHARON, hoping thus to compel the Indians to leave the country. Some of these marauders were occasionally seen lurking about the settlement, but they precipitately retreated into the woods on discovering any Carribbees, of whom they stood greatly in awe. They, however, watched their opportunity, and having received certain information that all the Carribbees had emigrated, in consequence of a scarcity of provisions, a number of them advanced towards SHARON, lying for some days concealed in the woods. On Sunday, January the 25th, 1761, as the congregation was returning from divine service, the Negros sallied forth, and

with a hideous noise commenced an attack, using both fire-arms and bows and arrows. They killed three aged Indians in their huts and took eleven prisoners, but were afraid to approach the mission-house, as they observed persons with guns stationed in the inside. They, therefore, placed themselves behind trees, from whence they fired at the house, whereby one of the missionaries was wounded in the arm. Our brethren, however, maintained their post, till the enemies succeeded in setting fire to the premises. In making their escape, one had his forehead slightly grazed by an arrow. The Negros did not pursue them, but, having plundered the settlement, retreated with precipitancy, afraid of an attack from the Caribbees, some of whom were now returning. The fugitive missionaries went first to the plantations on the *Coropina*, and then proceeded to Paramaribo. Thither they were accompanied by some of their converts, the rest took refuge in EPHREM and other places.

The missionaries Schirmer and Clive, with a company of Indians, soon returned to SHARON, and, as no immediate danger was to be apprehended from the Bush-Negros, others followed in a short time. For the sake of greater security, the governor sent an officer with fourteen men to the settlement; but their presence proved no edification to the Indians, and was attended with many inconveniences. In other respects too the situation of the missionaries was extremely distressing. The house, they inhabited, was in a most ruinous state: frogs and toads crawled on the floor, and bats and other creatures took possession of the roof, which was but imperfectly covered. They were frequently in want of the necessaries of life; and the few Indians, living with them, being often sick, were consequently unable to hunt, or fish, or fetch provisions; and the soldiers without ceremony took the fruits of their plantations. For several weeks both missionaries were so ill, that they could not leave their hammocks, and had nothing to live upon but bread and water. Towards the end of the year, however, their courage was considerably strengthened by the arrival of three missionaries from Europe; but how inscrutable are the counsels of God! Two of them departed this life a few days after their arrival, and in less than twelve months two of the survivors

likewise entered into the rest, which remains for the people of God.

Hitherto the Christian Indians, alarmed by false reports of meditated attacks from the Negros, had often fled into the forests, and being thus deprived of the instruction of the missionaries, were rather declining in their religious profession. But by the grace of God they were brought to serious reflection, and in the year 1762 most of them returned, and with penitent tears besought their teachers to take them anew into their care. This request, which was most readily granted, served to animate their zeal and revive their fainting hopes.

Thus SHARON once more assumed the appearance of a promising station, and, its Indian inhabitants, about sixty in number, enjoyed peace and rest, and walking in the comforts of the Holy Ghost, were edified. Peace being established between the government and the Bush-Negros the missionaries indulged the pleasing hope, that many of the Arawaks, who had formerly been baptized, but were scattered in the wilderness during the late troubles, would now return. In this hope, however, they were disappointed; as the fear entertained by the Indians of the Negros rather increased after peace had been made. For, in spite of their professions of friendship, their conduct, when visiting SHARON, was not the most conciliatory. Some secret enemies, hoping to accelerate the ruin of the settlement, tried by false reports to terrify the Arawaks still more. Many of the inhabitants left the settlement and fled into the woods. Their dwellings being soon occupied by others, the missionaries did not relax in their exertions, but, both by their instructions at home, and by frequent visits through the country, endeavoured to diffuse the glad tidings of grace and redemption through the blood of Christ.

It was not long, however, before they were threatened with new dangers from the Negros, which seemed to render the occupation of SHARON, as a missionary settlement, very precarious. Besides this, vast swarms of large ants had almost totally destroyed their plantations, and thus deprived them of the principal means of subsistence. These and other circumstances led to the final relinquishment of this station in 1779.

A few years before the evacuation of the settlement brother Schirmer had departed this life and entered into the joy of his Lord, after having for the space of fourteen years endured hardness as a good soldier of Christ on this difficult post. In October, 1776, brother Christopher Lewis Schuman, son of the late missionary of that name, arrived at SHARON, principally with a view of devoting himself to the service of the Carribbees. His attempts in this respect, however, proved unsuccessful; but he zealously served the mission in many other ways.

### SECTION III.

#### *Hope on the Corentyn.*

IN order to take possession of the land surveyed on the river Corentyn, as mentioned in the preceding section, brother Daehne went thither in April 1757, accompanied by a few Indians, who assisted him in clearing a piece of ground and building a hut; but in a short time they all went away except one, called Christopher, and even he, falling sick a few months after, was obliged to return to his friends. Thus the missionary was left alone in this horrid wilderness, the haunt of tigers, serpents of enormous size, and various reptiles, whose bite or sting is venomous. He had not been long here, before he was seized with a fever; but by the timely assistance of brother Schuman, who had a slight knowledge of medicine, and who immediately hastened to his relief, he recovered.\* An account of the hardships and dangers he encountered in this solitary

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\* Schuman remarks concerning him: "Daehne reminds me of the old patriarchs, dwelling in tents, e. g. Abraham living at the oak in Mamre, and he experiences the protection and care of the Angel, who visited Abraham in his tent. I have never seen him so cheerful and happy, as he is in this solitude." [Risler, Part ii. Sec. 3. p. 110.]—Another of his brethren says of him: "Daehne can endure every hardship, like an Indian. He is indefatigable in the cause of our Saviour; and has a perfect knowledge of every thing requisite for the improvement and cultivation of land." Ibid. p. 118.

abode, as well as of the almost miraculous preservation of his life, will be read with the greatest interest in his own words.

"The Indians," says he, "who were continually passing by, often inquired into the reason of my building a hut in this lonely place; whether I did it by my own, or the governor's authority? I told them, I did it for their sakes, to make them acquainted with the true God, the only Saviour. They answered, 'the Indians have determined to kill you.' At length, the soldiers at the Fort sent me word that I was not safe, and invited me to come and live near them. I thanked them for their care; but determined to stay where I might be favoured to gain, if it were but one soul for Christ.

"One evening, being unwell and going to lie down in my hammock, upon entering the door of my hut, I perceived a large serpent descending upon me from a shelf near the roof. In the scuffle the creature stung, or bit me two or three times in the head, and, pursuing me very closely, twined herself several times round my head and neck\*. Supposing that this would be the occasion of my death, and apprehending that the Indians would be charged with it, I wrote with chalk upon the table: 'a serpent has killed me.' But, on a sudden, that promise of our Saviour to his disciples was impressed upon my mind, 'They shall take up serpents, and it shall not hurt them,' (Mark xvi. 18;) and, seizing the creature with great force, I tore her loose, and flung her out of the hut. I then laid down to rest in the peace of God.

"There was also a tiger, who for a long time kept near my hut, watching, perhaps an opportunity to seize its inhabitant. He roared dreadfully every evening; but I made a large fire near the hut, before I went to bed; however, as my fire often went out, it would have been but a poor defence, if the Lord had not protected me.

"In November the Carribbee Indians resolved to put their threats against me into execution. One day, as I sat at din-

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\* Probably one of those serpents, which, though their bite is not poisonous, by twisting themselves tightly round the body of their prey, break its bones, and thus quickly extinguish life.

ner, about fifty of them arrived in canoes, and surrounded my hut. This was indeed a frightful sight. Some were armed with swords, others with tomahawks. I immediately went out to them, and bid them welcome in the Arawak language. They answered in a surly tone, saying I should speak the Carribbee language. I told them I could not speak it. Upon this they began to speak with each other, every now and then addressing me, to find out whether I understood them or not. Perceiving that I did not even guess their meaning, they called their Arawak interpreter, and asked me, who had given me leave to build on their land. I answered, 'the governor; and that I had a writing under his own hand to prove what I said.' They then asked, what views I had in coming hither? Upon this, I went up to their Chief, and said with great freedom, 'I have brethren on the other side of the great ocean, who, having heard that many Indians that are ignorant of their Creator, live on this river, out of love to them have sent me hither, to tell you of your Creator's love to you, and what he has done to save you; and more of my brethren will come hither for the same purpose.' He asked, 'whether I was a clergyman, a Frenchman, or a Dutchman?' I answered, 'I came from Holland, but was sent by my brethren, who loved them, and wished to do them good.' He then said, 'Have you never heard, that the Indians intend to kill you?' I answered, 'yes; but I cannot believe it. You have among your Indians some, who have lived with me, and they can tell you that I am a real friend of the Indians.' 'Yes,' replied he, 'I have heard so; and they say, that you are a different sort of Christian from the white people in general.' I then said, 'I am your friend; how is it that you are come to kill me?' He answered, 'We have done wrong.' Upon this every countenance seemed altered, and the party dispersed. The Chief remained with me, and inquired whether other people would come to live here; and when I assured him that none but my brethren would come, he was pleased, and behaved very kindly. When he was going away, I perceived that he had some cassabi in his pouch. I asked him for it, as his people could get more, and I was here alone, and in want; adding, 'If you should

at any time pass by, and be hungry, I will also give you something to eat." He immediately gave orders to give me some cassabi, some fish, and drink, and then took leave, saying he would often come to see me. Thus our Saviour delivered me from them, and preserved me amidst daily dangers; so that, at the close of the year, I had great cause to thank and adore him in the dust.

"I entered into the year 1758 with a confident heart, and felt the peace and presence of God. I was busily employed in clearing the ground, and felling trees; and when weary, I frequently desired the Indians, passing that way, to lend a helping hand, which they did with pleasure. Once, while gathering wood for fuel, some large black ants fixed upon my hand, and by their stings gave me such excruciating pain that for some time I was almost senseless. These creatures are nearly two inches long, and quite black. The Indians are as much afraid of them as of serpents. As to externals, this was for me a year of great want. I frequently rose in the morning, without knowing whether I should taste a morsel all day; but God ordered it so, that sometimes, when I could scarce bear the excess of hunger, some Indians, who were willing to divide their mouthful of cassabi with me, arrived\*."

During the whole year he was occasionally visited by Warau Indians, which afforded him an opportunity of preaching the gospel to them; and this always animated him afresh to labour in hopes of better times. Some of them also promised to come and live with him. In consequence of his incessant bodily labours, often beyond his strength, he was attacked with sickness, which was increased by the insalubrity of the climate and his mean and scanty fare. His fellow missionaries in Paramaribo, being informed of it, immediately dispatched brother Boemper to his assistance. It was sometime before he could procure a conductor, for the Indians are in general afraid of going near a sick person, and had moreover been terrified by a report, that the devil lived with Daehne. They, therefore, did all they could to dissuade brother Boemper from venturing

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\* Per. Acct. Vol. i. p.327—331.

to go to so dangerous a person. However he at length prevailed and arrived to the great comfort of Daehne, whose health was soon restored.

Having spent nearly two years in this solitary abode, he was in 1759 relieved by three missionaries. These built a church and dwelling-house, and laid out plantations, giving the name of EPHREM to the new settlement. They diligently visited those Indians, who, after leaving PILGERHUT, had become residents in this part of the country; and some of them came to live in the settlement. Many Caribbees and Waraus also visited them; and they had the pleasure to observe, that their testimony of Christ and his salvation evinced its divine power on the Indians, whose tears manifested the emotion of their hearts. This, amidst many external difficulties and hardships, encouraged them to labour in hope.

But their faith and patience were put to a fresh and severe trial. The rebellion of the Negro-slaves in Berbice, in 1763, rendered the whole country along the banks of the Corentyn unsafe, and forced their converts to retire into the interior. After awaiting the issue for some time, the missionaries removed to Paramaribo, and their house was occupied by soldiers. The rebellion of the Negros being suppressed in 1764, they returned to their post. They found their former dwelling nearly in ruins; and as the situation of EPHREM was very unhealthy, being frequently exposed to inundations, they abandoned that place, and moved about twelve miles higher up the river. Here they found a piece of land well suited for plantations, and a good house, which had been built for a magazine. This they purchased of Government, and, after making some needful alterations, moved into it in 1765. Its situation being at no great distance from the river Mepenue, whither most of the Indian converts had fled during the disturbances, led them to hope that many of their scattered sheep would again be collected, and restored to the fold of the good Shepherd, and in this expectation they gave it the name of HOPE\*.

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\* In Dutch *Hoope*, by which name it is often mentioned in the reports of the missionaries.



In process of time many of those Indians, who had been baptized by the Brethren, found their way to this new settlement. They erected huts for themselves, and at a convenient distance laid out their fields. Some of them had grown rather wild, yet the remembrance of the grace, they had formerly enjoyed, was not totally obliterated, and, being now revived by the instruction of the missionaries, a pleasing change was soon effected. The brethren also neglected no opportunity of informing the other Indians of their residence in the country and inviting them to come and hear the Word of God. They likewise paid occasional visits to the heathen, some of whom embraced the gospel and were added to the Church. Thus the congregation at HOPE continued for several years, in a pleasing course; and though the increase in point of number was not considerable, yet the grace of God was often strikingly experienced. At the close of the year 1783 the number of Christian Indians, belonging to the settlement, amounted to one hundred and sixty seven persons.

During subsequent years the prospect became rather discouraging. The naturally roving disposition of the Indians, which had always been a great impediment to the mission, gained fresh ascendancy. At one time no less than twenty men of the baptized left HOPE, and removed to a considerable distance, and those, who still remained, spent most of their time in their planting-grounds, and were often four, eight, and even twelve weeks absent from church; nor was it always possible to visit them. This was injurious to their progress in Christian knowledge and practice; many in fact seemed to lose the little knowledge they had obtained, and sunk into a state of supineness and indifference to the gospel. Few of the heathen paid any regard to the instructions of the missionaries, and the Arawak nation was rapidly decreasing in number, many being carried off by the small-pox and other epidemical diseases.

This was the state of things at HOPE in 1789, when brother John Jacob Gottlob Fischer arrived there. He appeared remarkably qualified to labour among a people like the Indians. Endowed with a vigorous constitution and an active and enterprising mind, improved by study, he was capable of enduring

much bodily fatigue, and of devising and executing plans for the mental improvement of the converts. With astonishing facility he acquired, in a few months, sufficient knowledge of the Arawak language, to preach in public: and even earlier than this; he had commenced a school with the children, in which he taught reading and writing; and one of the boys in a short time made such progress, that he could be employed in copying, and could assist in teaching the rest. In a few weeks he had thirty scholars, who were eager to learn; and those parents, who lived at a distance, permitted their children to remain in the settlement, that they might obtain instruction. The zeal, with which he engaged in this and other schemes animated the sinking courage of the other missionaries. He hoped by these means to infuse more steadiness and activity into the character of the Arawaks, thereby rendering them more susceptible of moral and intellectual improvement, and thus to facilitate their advancement in spiritual knowledge.

In order to induce the Christian Indians to forsake their roving disposition, which they always excused by alledging the infertility of the soil on the Corentyn, Fischer went to a neighbouring Chief on the *Aulibissi* Creek, where there was good planting-ground, to inquire whether he would permit the Indians of HOPE to plant in his territory. He immediately consented and, pointing to a considerable tract of forest-land, said: "This land God has given to me, as he gave that of HOPE to thee, and thus I am the rightful possessor of it. Now, as I have not created it, and thou canst use it, I freely deliver it over to thee; and thy people may come and clear it as soon as they please." He then, in very kind terms, addressed the Indians who accompanied brother Fischer, assuring them that no devil, or evil spirit, haunted the land. In consequence of these arrangements several families built huts in the settlement, so that in 1793 it contained one hundred and fifty-one inhabitants; besides whom about one hundred baptized Arawak, lived scattered in the vicinity. New life from God was also perceptible in the congregation.

As this appears to have been the most flourishing period in the mission at HOPE; some remarks, may very properly be

introduced in this place, on the settlement and the improvement of its Indian inhabitants in the arts of civilized society. Brother Hans Wied, at that time superintendent of the South American mission, gives the following description of this place in the year 1794.

“HOPE is situate on the left bank of the Corentyn, as you ascend from the sea. The opposite bank is high and sandy; but on this side the soil is loamy and not very fruitful. The woods, except where paths have been cut by the natives, are rendered almost impenetrable by an immense quantity of Busch-Tau. In the neighbourhood of the settlement the wood is cut down and rooted up; and plantations of coffee, bananas, and cotton, together with a considerable portion of pasture-ground, amply reward the industry of the Christian Indians.

“The missionaries’ dwelling stands about forty feet distant from the river, and the ascent to it is by a range of nineteen steps. It is built, partly in the Indian, and partly in the colonial style. Its front is of weather-boarding, and the two sides and back are constructed with a double row of palisades, placed close together. The partitions inside are made in the same manner, and every part covered with a plaster, made of chalk and charcoal, of a bluish hue. All the floors are made of clay, mixed with chalk. The rooms of the brethren Fischer and Loesche have ceilings of strong laths, lying horizontally, but the hall, which is spacious and serves for a dining room, as also the church, which is comprised in the same building, have no covering except the roof. This is made, in the Indian manner, of large leaves fastened upon laths, and all the beams and rafters are secured by Busch-Tau. Behind the dwellings are the Negro-house, kitchen, store-house, and stables, so constructed that, in the rainy season, each may be approached under cover. Next to the mission-house, to the right down the river, stands brother Voegtle’s house, built by his own hands in the Indian manner, extremely neat and furnished with a gallery. About one hundred yards from the dwellings of the missionaries, on each side, most of the houses of the Indian brethren and sisters are ranged in regular rows, along the bank, so that the mission house and church, which stands

nearly in the middle, divide the settlement into two parts. Close to the houses on either side, is a well-made foot-path, leading to the woods. Some of the Indian houses are not built in the row, but in the gardens, and nearly hid among the fruit-trees. At the back of the settlement runs a fence, to prevent the cattle from entering the garden-grounds. The most considerable gardens belonging to the Indians, namely, their cassabi plantations, which afford them the chief part of their sustenance, are at Aulibissi, on the opposite side of the Corentyn, about an hour and a half's walk from HOPE. The school is situated behind the mission-house, and is an airy Indian building.

"The employment of the Christian Indians at HOPE consists chiefly in cultivating their fields and gardens, in weaving mats, and in cutting and preparing timber. One or two of the missionaries accompany them into the wood, where they fell trees, cut planks, and make shingles. A large quantity of the latter, as likewise many bundles of hammocks made by them, are sold at Berbice, and the produce applied towards the purchase of necessaries for themselves and their families. They are thus constantly kept in a state of useful industry\*."

Goods cannot be conveyed to Berbice in any other way than by water, and as the missionaries, for a long time, could not afford to have a large vessel, they frequently ran great risks with their small canoes or coryars. At length they purchased a large boat, in which the brethren Fischer and Kluge, and four Indians, set out for Berbice in August 1795, but the voyage proved very unsuccessful. Having proceeded a considerable way the boat, all on a sudden, became leaky, and the water gained upon them so fast, that she sunk before they could run her aground. They first clung to a cask fastened to the boat, and then to the mast, part of which was above water; and thus remained eight hours exposed to the most imminent danger in the open sea, till after midnight they succeeded in getting on shore, by means of a small coryar; and reached HOPE in safety. Meanwhile the Indians continued their exertions with

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\* Per. Aoct. Vol. i. p. 419.

undiminished diligence and prepared other articles to send to Berbice, in which they were assisted by a German called Vogt, whom the missionaries engaged for that purpose, and with whose conduct and diligence they had every reason to be satisfied.

Besides the daily school for the children, they began in 1796 a Sunday school for adults. Sixty men and women attended at the opening of it, and shewed great diligence and eagerness to learn.

HORE, being situated on the frontiers between Surinam and Berbice, was exposed to many difficulties, in consequence of the war between Holland and Great Britain, the latter having taken possession of Berbice in 1796. Brother Kluge, returning from Paramaribo in their own vessel, laden with provisions, was captured by an English Privateer, and plundered of all the stores. The Privateer carried him and his Indians to Berbice, where he was taken very ill; but by the kind attention of some friends, with whom he lodged, he soon recovered; and, after paying a considerable sum to ransom the vessel, returned to HORE. In the sequel the English treated the missionaries with great civility, permitting them to continue their voyages from one colony to the other without interruption.

Shortly before the British had possessed themselves of Demarary a circumstance occurred peculiarly trying to the Indian congregation. A gang of run-away Negros commenced a rebellion in that colony, and committed the most horrid murders and outrages. The Dutch government having resolved to quell this insurrection by means of Indian auxiliaries, the governor wrote a letter to the missionaries at HORE, desiring them to exhort their Indians to join the rest of their nation and the military, in the expedition against the Negros. They convened the congregation and communicated the governor's letter, but, as they were acknowledged an independent people, they left them to their own free will as to the steps they would choose to take. The Indians hereupon held a council, the result of which was, that they declared they had no mind to join in the war against the Negros, espe-

cially as their own country would be left exposed, if they were all to march off into a distant part; but if Berbice were attacked, they should then think themselves bound to oppose the incursion of the enemy. This resolution they sent to the post at Auleara; but were answered, that it could not be considered as their own act and deed, because they depended on the will of their teachers, and would surely go, if the latter advised them to it. The Indians were indeed watching the missionaries and expected to have a decisive opinion from them; but they carefully avoided any interference and daily offered up prayer and supplication, that the Lord would avert the storm. Upwards of twenty of the men having returned from their work in the wood, another council was held, during which the women stood without and wept. The result was, that three of them agreed to go to the war. As the European officers had reckoned upon fifty warriors from HOPE, they were greatly disappointed at seeing only three arrive; and several of them, and also some parties of Indians, came to HOPE and made some disturbance. However they did not succeed in their endeavours, for not one more would join them. On the 23rd of July the warriors passed by in two canoes; one carrying twenty and the other thirty-four men. The missionaries then reported the whole transaction to the governor, and he expressed himself perfectly satisfied with their conduct. In about two months the Indians returned, having stormed a camp of 400 rebel Negros, and either killed or dispersed them. Many Demarary Indians and soldiers were killed, but not one of this country.

Amidst these outward perplexities the missionaries had cause to rejoice at the success, which attended their labours in the gospel. The congregation at HOPE, which hitherto had been chiefly collected from the Arawaks, now began to obtain an increase from another tribe called *Waraus*.

The character of this tribe is marked by a greater degree of levity, than that of the other Indians in Guiana. Their habits are more depraved and dissolute. They are more addicted to stealing, excessively superstitious and indolent. Their mental capacities appear less than those of other Indians; and

though, by living among the Arawaks and understanding their language, they had had frequent opportunities of hearing the gospel, yet they paid little attention to it, but seemed less fit for the kingdom of God than the former. The greater, therefore, did the power of the gospel appear in the awakening and conversion of some of this tribe. Thirty-six became inhabitants of HOPE in the year 1796.

An epidemical disease prevailing about this time many heathen came to HOPE to consult the missionaries. These gladly gave them the best advice and assistance in their power and improved these visits for commending to them the gospel, as the most effectual antidote against the fear of death. It was gratifying to them to observe the beneficial influence of religion on their converts in this season of affliction, not only as it appeared in the tranquil state of their minds, but as it meliorated their temporal condition; for they enjoyed much better care and attendance in sickness than the heathen; and it was ascertained by indubitable facts, that in epidemical diseases eight heathen died for one Christian Indian.

During the years 1797 and 1798 they had to encounter various difficulties. A scarcity, little short of real famine, afflicted the country. A prodigious swarm of large ants having nearly destroyed their plantations, the missionaries were obliged every day to seek, and almost beg, their morsel of cassibi and after all to pay an enormous price for it. They were in total want both of bread and meal, as well as of meat and butter, and no game could be obtained. This distress was afterwards lessened as government permitted them to travel to Berbice on concerns of the mission.

While this scarcity continued several alarming reports were circulated of hostilities having commenced among some of the Indian tribes. In consequence of these rumours many Arawaks and Waraus left their habitations, and fled for safety to the settlement at HOPE, bringing their goods with them. All the Indians on the other side of the Corentyn fled, and mostly took refuge with our brethern. Even those at the post, who were stationed there for the defence of the country, came to the settlement. To inspire the people with some degree

of courage, the missionaries dispersed all the men, who had arms, in regular bands, to keep watch, and to prevent any one escaping; and all the coryars, or boats, were brought on land. Thus, at the beginning of 1797, there were upwards of two hundred fugitives in the settlement. Many of them cleared ground, for building and planting, in the vicinity. In a few months, however, tranquillity was restored and they again quitted that part of the country, without having received any apparent benefit from their intercourse with the Christian Indians.

But now a disaster of a far more distressing nature befel the mission. In March 1798 a ship was wrecked near the mouth of the Corentyn. The captain and another gentleman, who gave themselves out to be Americans, came to HOPE. The missionaries immediately sent intelligence of this to the postmaster of Aulcara, who, after examining into the business, permitted them to convoy these gentlemen to Berbice, whither they were bound. The day after, therefore, brother Fischer set out with them, and the next morning came up with the crew, belonging to the wrecked vessel. Fischer, having taken an inventory of the goods, saved from the ship, returned to HOPE; and the unfortunate company, consisting of twenty-four persons, pursued their voyage to Berbice in one of their own sloops and in the barge, belonging to the mission, being accompanied by seven Indians. It was now discovered, that they were not Americans but English. In consequence of this the postmaster of Nieukeur was obliged to go to Paramaribo, whither brother Kluge accompanied him, to lay a circumstantial account of the whole occurrence before government. A fortnight after Adjutant General Roux arrived at the settlement, to examine into the affair. After his return to Paramaribo an order was sent from government, requiring that Fischer and his family should immediately leave the country. This was a most afflictive dispensation, both to the missionaries and their converts, who came in crowds to lament the removal of this useful man from the mission. However, as suspicions were entertained, that, on discovering that the pretended Americans were British subjects, Fischer had assisted in secreting part of



the cargo of the stranded ship, which according to the laws of war belonged to the government, our brethren viewed it as a special favour, that this occurrence did not lessen the benevolence of the governor for them and their establishment, and that he continued to them the permission, formerly granted, of carrying their goods for sale to Berbice.

The number of inhabitants at HOPE was in the mean time considerably increased. At the close of 1799 it amounted to near three hundred persons; and besides them, there were many others, who were benefitted by the ministry of our brethren, though they still lived scattered in the woods. But in the following years the number was greatly diminished, many being carried off by the small-pox, and others, yielding to their naturally roving disposition, retreated for some time to *Aporo-creek*, so that at the end of 1804, only one hundred and forty-six persons resided at HOPE, and one hundred and seventeen baptized Indians were living dispersed in the country.

In August 1806 HOPE was visited by a dreadful calamity. One afternoon, while the missionaries were sitting together taking some refreshment, a fire broke out, which ran with such rapidity along the thatched roofs of the houses, that in a short time every building in the settlement, not excepting the church and the mission-house, became a prey to the flames. Only the walls of the church, which were made of planks, remained in part standing, but all the tools, and implements of gardening and husbandry, together with the tackle and rigging of their boat, the stores of the Indians, and various other articles and provisions were consumed. Fortunately, however, they saved their books and manuscripts, most of their clothes, and some gun-powder and two barrels of flour. And no one received any personal injury. This calamity was rendered still more distressing, as there was reason to suspect that the fire had been kindled by incendiaries. Several attempts of the same kind had been made the preceding days, but, being timely discovered, the design had been frustrated.

About two years after, the missionaries were under the necessity of quitting HOPE. Most, if not all, of those Indians belonging to that congregation, who were truly converted in

heart, and walked worthily of the gospel, were by means of an epidemical disorder, in a short period of time, called into eternity, and departed this life rejoicing in their Redeemer. None therefore, were left, who by their example led the rest to serious reflection, or, at least, to orderly behaviour; but a spirit of resistance and enmity to the gospel became predominant.

This suspension of the mission on the Corentyn having occasioned deep regret in all our congregations in Europe, the brethren in Paramaribo were commissioned to avail themselves of the first opportunity, that might offer, to collect the scattered remains of the Arawak flock, and to endeavour to renew the mission. Several of the Indians themselves, who occasionally came to Paramaribo, expressed a wish, that the labours of the Brethren among their nation might be renewed; and declared that many of those, who, by their dissolute and refractory conduct, had contributed to the dispersion of the congregation, repented of what they had done, and would now put a higher value upon the instructions given them, if the mission were re-established.

As soon, therefore, as it was practicable brother Langballe and his wife paid a visit to the Indians in those parts. They found the former settlement at HOPE quite forsaken, and overgrown with bushes. About three miles, higher up, on the Berbice side of the river, they met with a considerable number of baptized Indians, who formerly lived at HOPE, and had made a settlement there. They were received by them with great cordiality, and staid with them three weeks. Every day brother Langballe held a meeting; and spoke with them on the necessity of faith in Christ and true conversion. They listened with great attention and apparent devotion to his discourses; several of them expressed their sorrow at having no teacher now residing amongst them, and their earnest desire, not only to be favoured again with opportunities of hearing the Word of God, but to live in conformity to it. Brother Langballe at that time could do no more, than make a regulation among them to meet together and read the New Testament. He encouraged them to turn anew with their whole heart to Jesus, and to forsake all heathenish practices, and help to build each other

up in the faith. He and his wife then visited the other baptized, who lived dispersed on the *Ziporotu* and *Mepenue* rivers. Many of these poor people bewailed the loss of their teachers, and expressed their sincere wish that missionaries might again come and dwell among them. According to the best information brother Langballe could procure from those whom he visited, he found that of the former inhabitants of HOPE, one hundred and ninety-seven persons were still living. He himself had spoken with seventy-seven of the baptized.

Encouraged by these promising appearances, two missionaries, William Christian Genth and John Hafa, who had lately arrived in Surinam, proceeded in June 1812 to the Corentyn, where they found a house ready for them, having been built, in expectation of their arrival, by one of the Christian Indians. It was about three miles distant from the site of the old settlement. With the assistance of some Negros, they had brought with them from Paramaribo, they soon cleared a piece of ground for planting, and enlarged their dwelling, so as to accommodate the Indians with a meeting-room. Thirty of the baptized resided about a mile from them, and diligently attended divine worship. In process of time two or three Indian families came to settle with them, and others promised to follow; but that awakening and true conversion of the heart, which the Spirit of God alone can effect, were still wanting.

Their labours remaining unproductive of fruit, the missionaries left the station on the Corentyn, and removed to the river *Neukeet*, there to preach the gospel to the Negros on the neighbouring plantations, being followed by five converted Arawak Indians. Brother Gent fixed his residence on an estate called GOOD INTENT about four miles from the river, the proprietor provided him with a dwelling-house and a garden, and a building to serve for a meeting-house. This place lies in the centre of eight cotton plantations, from which the Negros were allowed to attend divine service without molestation. Brother Hafa settled on another estate near the coast, on the river *Copaname*. This was the state of things in 1817.

## SECTION IV.

### *Bambey on the Surinam.*

THE government at Surinam having in the year 1764 made peace with the Free-negros, living on the river Surinam, and wisely judging, that their conversion to Christianity would, more than any thing else, tend to make them peaceable, and put a stop to those depredations and cruelties, which they had formerly committed, made application to the Brethren to send missionaries to instruct them. In consequence of this application, the Brethren in the year 1765, sent the missionaries Lewis Christopher Daehne, Rudolph Stoll, and Thomas Jones to Paramaribo; who set out from thence for Sara Creek, on December 7th. Their goods had been previously conveyed up the river by a boat carrying soldiers, and they themselves arrived there on the 12th.

About the same time Mr. Doebling had been sent by government as agent to the Free-negros, to distribute presents among them, and do every thing in his power to engage their friendship. He was likewise commissioned to introduce the missionaries to the Chiefs, and to recommend them to their favour. In this view he invited all the Chiefs to a conversation in his tent. A good many Free-negros came with them, to whom Mr. Doebling presented the above mentioned brethren, informing them of the purport of their coming, namely to make them acquainted with God their Creator and Saviour; and added "Whatever you do to these men, whether good or bad, I shall consider as done to myself." The Negros unanimously promised to treat them in the best manner.

The missionaries intended to travel further into the country, but as the Negros had not room in their boats for the accommodation of all, brother Stoll was obliged to return, with part of the baggage to Victoria, and wait for another oppor-

tunity. This separation gave them much concern. However as no other plan could be devised, the brethren Daehne and Jones went with the Negros, and arrived December 24th; the former on the *Senthea* Creek, with Abini, (father to John Arabini who became a worthy member of the congregation at Bambey) and the latter with Samsam on *Doose* Creek. It was by no means their wish to reside at two different places, but Samsam, who was a Chief and with whom brother Jones had travelled, kept him by force. This did not arise from particular regard, or attachment, to the missionary, but solely from ambition, that he might likewise have an European residing with him, which the Negros esteem an honour. January 1st, 1766, however, brother Jones found an opportunity of disengaging himself from his ungracious host, and rejoining his fellow missionary, Daehne, on the *Senthea* Creek. Samsam continued for some time to be very troublesome, by insisting on having one of them as a resident in his house; and when he found them resolute in their determination of dwelling together, kept back their goods, and either applied them to his own use, or suffered them to spoil. They felt their loss very severely. However, on the 2nd of February brother Stoll arrived from Victoria with the remainder of their baggage.

The meeting of all appointed to the same work gave them great joy; but, it was soon turned into grief, by the unexpected departure of brother Jones into eternal rest, on the 7th of the same month. The two remaining brethren at first suffered great hardships and poverty, and lived in a small miserable hut, near the dwelling of two old Negros, till Abini, becoming sensible of their distress, built a small house for them. In a short time, however, they lost likewise this friend and benefactor. He was shot in a battle between the combined force of the Sarumacca Negros and the white people and Matuari Negros. Before he went to the battle, he is said to have presented his son, John Arabini, to the missionaries, with words to the following effect: "that he did not know what sort of people the Brethren were, nor the cause of their abode in the country, but believed God had sent them."

In August the same year Cujo, afterwards called Joshua,

brought his son Scipio to brother Stoll; and requested him to teach him to read and write. With this boy the missionaries began a school, which was afterwards increased by some other young people; but only two stayed, and at their pressing request went in the sequel to reside with the missionaries, and, having received a real sense of the love of God in their souls, were baptized and admitted to the holy sacrament.

Arabini, who was chosen Chief in the place of his father, proved a real friend and protector to the missionaries. Having in the course of a year acquired sufficient knowledge of the language\*, to render themselves intelligible to the inhabitants of the village; they informed them of their reason for coming to the country, namely, to make them acquainted with the true God, the Creator and Redeemer of man. This excited the jealousy and opposition of the idol-priests, and especially of the old women, who terrified their superstitious countrymen by representing to them that their *gados* (or gods) were angry with them for turning to the *Gran-gado* (the great God) of the white people.† Not satisfied with thus deterring the

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\* The language of the Free-negros, though differing considerably from that spoken by the Negros on the plantations, is not difficult of attainment to any one who understands English, or any language derived from the Latin.

† The number of their *gados* is almost incalculable, every person choosing one according to his own fancy. Some fix on a large tree, a heap of sand, stones, a tiger, a crocodile, a serpent, &c. for their *gado*; and others make use of an image, or a stick, decorated with the teeth of some ferocious animal. Before these idols they perform their devotions with great reverence. However they are not scrupulous in reproving their *gado*, if they think he has done them a mischief. A water-serpent, called *Boma*, which a Negro-woman had chosen for her idol, having one day killed the only duck she possessed, she ran in great fury to the river and exclaimed, "O *gado*! thou hast not done right in that thou hast killed my only duck, though I have very faithfully served thee, and thou hast done no harm to these people (meaning the missionaries), who have many ducks, and who seek to destroy thee, this is not right." Such frolics, however, are not the whole, or the worst part, of their superstition. Some persuade themselves in so lively a manner, that the spirit of their *gado* is upon them, that, while under this delusion, their bodies are subject to the most violent and frightful agitations; and the more ghastly and horrid the contortions of such a person are, in the greater veneration is he held by the people, who repose unlimited confidence in his

Negros from having any intercourse with the missionaries they even plotted their destruction. But as they were ignorant of their murderous design, they continued to hold their family devotions with their doors open, hoping that some of the savages might be attracted by curiosity to attend. They were, however, warned against going out of the house at night, and they themselves make the following remark in their report of 1767, "Our situation is even more dangerous than we are aware of; but we depend on *Him*, who is the sure defence of his servants, and is mightier than all. If it please him, we are willing to be made a sacrifice. May he only preserve to us the feeling of his peace." But as Arabini maintained a good understanding with the Dutch government, who had recommended the missionaries to his protection, none of their enemies ventured to do them any personal injury.

Brother Daehne having returned to Europe in 1768, the service of the mission devolved upon Stoll, the missionary, sent to his assistance, being confined by illness for a whole year. As no entrance could be gained among the adults, brother Stoll continued the school with the children, and for their use translated select portions of the New Testament. He had the pleasure to observe, that his labours were not altogether lost on their juvenile minds.

The missionaries had hitherto resided in a Negro village on *Senthe* Creek, where their situation was often rendered extremely unpleasant, by the wild and rude behaviour of the inhabitants, who frequently spent whole weeks in rioting and drunkenness, especially when there was a sacrificial feast or a funeral. They, therefore, did not regret the removal of most of the Negros to *Sebonne* Creek. Thither they followed

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pretensions. When the Negros observe any thing uncommon, either in the bodily form, or in the intellectual powers of a child, he is committed to the tutorage of an old idol-priestess, who from infancy prepares him for the *inspiration of a gado*. And though a pupil of this description is often dreadfully emaciated by the paroxysms, which accompany his initiation, he willingly submits in the hope of once becoming a great man, and being respected as an *obia* or *gado-man*, whose advice and counsel are sought in case of sickness, and on other occasions. Such persons are in general, expert deceivers, who know how to turn the superstitious credulity of the people to their own advantage, and never fail to enrich themselves. Risler. Part ii. Sec. 3. p. 182—184.

them, and settled on a small piece of land, procured by Arabini at a short distance from the village. Arabini also built a house for them, which they inhabited in February 1769, and from the great number of bamboo canes growing there, called their settlement QUAMA. The same year brother Kersten and his wife arrived from Europe to serve in this mission. They indulged the hope, that the services of a sister would be of essential benefit, as the brethren, owing to the influence of Arabini's grand-mother, could gain no access to the Negro women. This idolatrous old woman, whose opinions were venerated as of divine inspiration, was a sworn enemy to the mission.

Among the adults Arabini was hitherto the only one, on whose mind the testimony of the gospel made any visible impression. Notwithstanding his being exposed to constant ridicule and opposition, he continued to protect and befriend the missionaries, and as he boldly avowed his sentiments respecting the doctrines of the gospel, others were induced to go and hear for themselves. Thus in May 1770 a considerable number of *men* attended the preaching, listened to the discourse with great silence and apparent devotion, and even came again in the evening, requesting to hear more of the Word of God. In the sequel also there was no want of hearers, though as yet none of the *women* ventured to come, being afraid of exasperating their gods by their attendance. Though the impression made upon their hearers, could scarce be considered as a real awakening, yet it greatly encouraged the missionaries to persevere in their labours of love.

While most of their hearers, received the seed on stony ground, or among thorns, or by the way-side, it fell in the case of Arabini on good ground. This man evidently increased in grace and in the knowledge of our Lord Jesus Christ, and boldly confessed the doctrine of the gospel. The missionaries, therefore, felt no hesitation in admitting him to holy baptism. This sacred rite was performed on the 6th of January, 1771, in presence of most of the *male* inhabitants of the village. The missionaries viewed it as an auspicious circumstance, that the most respectable Chief of the nation was the first, who became obedient to the gospel, hoping that his public profession of



Christianity would produce a salutary effect on his countrymen. In this, however, they were disappointed. His baptism mightily incensed the heathen, especially the idolatrous women, and they opposed the effects, likely to result from this occurrence, with a zeal worthy of a better cause. Instigated by them the captain of a neighbouring village, foaming with rage and armed with a gun and sabre, entered the mission-house, sharply reprehended the missionaries for committing the heinous offence of persuading Arabini to forsake the gods of his ancestors turn to the God of the white people. But their undaunted confession of the truth and the testimony of Arabini himself concerning the blessed change wrought in him, subdued the fury of the captain; and he calmly returned to his own house.

Arabini remained faithful to his profession, and, being much respected as the Chief of the nation, often prevented disorders and mischief, and averted harm from the missionaries. They esteemed him as a faithful follower of Christ and appointed him an assistant in preaching the gospel to his countrymen. This office he discharged with zeal and activity.\* The impression made on the rest of their hearers was very transient. Hitherto they had performed divine service in their own house, but in 1772 they built a chapel. As they could get but very little assistance from the Negros, they were obliged to do most of the work themselves. Brother Kersten, in his report makes the following just remark: "A missionary ought to understand something of several arts and trades. Though we are but two, it is well for us, that we can make a shift to do a little of the work of a tailor, shoemaker, carpenter, farmer, basket-

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\* The following anecdote shows the power of conviction on the mind of Arabini, at an early period. Soon after the arrival of the missionaries in the country, and before he had avowed himself a convert to Christianity, having often heard them declare, that the idols of the heathen could neither help nor hurt them, he went one morning to the river where the crocodile or alligator, who was the god of the village, had his haunt. On seeing the creature he addressed it thus, (holding his loaded gun in his hand :) "I intend to shoot thee. Now, if thou art a god, my bullet will do thee no harm; but if thou art a creature, it will kill thee." He then fired his piece and shot the animal dead. Alarmed at this, the idol-priestesses sacrificed a cock to appease the wrath of the pretended deity. *Per. Acc. Vol. ii. p. 96.*

maker and smith, and besides preaching the gospel to the Negroes, can even serve them as physicians and surgeons.

In 1773 the Negroes, from superstitious motives and love of change, left QUAMA; and the missionaries were obliged to follow them lower down the river to the little *Quaffa-dam*. They called their new residence BAMBEY, which in the language of the country signifies, *Only wait*, or *have patience*. By giving it this name they intended to remind each other, that the gospel ought to be preached with patience and perseverance, and in confident expectation of the help of the Lord. The constant recollection of this was peculiarly necessary at this time, as their situation was by no means encouraging. In 1773 only one Negro was baptized, and the addition to their congregation, two years after, amounted but to three. Several missionaries, who came to assist in the work, departed this life shortly after their arrival; and in 1777 brother Rudolph Stoll likewise fell asleep in Jesus. The removal of this worthy and zealous servant of Christ was felt as a severe affliction by the Free-Negroes, among whom, to this day, he is held in respectful remembrance. He had served this mission, amidst many difficulties and hardships, for more than eleven years.

He was succeeded at BAMBEY by brother Christopher Lewis Schuman. Being in consequence of the death of his assistant, soon left alone, and having suffered much from severe illnesses, he was obliged to return to Paramaribo\*. His successor, bro-

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\* He relates in one of his letters, that after a most dangerous attack of the reasoning fever, his body was covered all over with boils and painful sores. He lay in his cot as helpless as a child, and had no one to administer any relief or food to him, but a poor old Negro woman, who sometimes was obliged to follow the rest to the plantations in the woods. One morning, while she was absent, after spending a most restless and painful night, he at sun-rise observed, an immense swarm of ants, entering through the roof, and spreading themselves all over the inside of his chamber. Expecting that they would make a meal of him, he commended his soul to God, and hoped that he should be released from all his sufferings. They presently covered his bed and himself, causing an uncommon degree of smarting pain. However they soon quitted him, and continued their march; and from that time he gradually recovered his health and spirits. Per. Acct. Vol. ii. p. 419.

ther Hans and his wife were both called away from this stage of life, in about a month after their arrival, and within six days of each other. After a vacancy at BAMBEY of five months, brother Schuman returned. In subsequent years sickness and the death of several missionaries occasioned continual changes; but the Negros were always thankful when a new missionary arrived.

The year 1780 was distinguished by some encouraging events. The number of believing Free-negros amounted as yet to only seven *men*, for hitherto the *women* had not only refused to listen to the gospel, but opposed the conversion of the men by all the arts in their power; but this year three adult women were baptized, one of whom was the wife of Arabini, and besides them three men and two children.

The most animating to the missionaries, on these occasions, was the change wrought in the sentiments of the heathen. They remark concerning this: "After the baptism of Arabini, the Negros by their very looks menaced us with destruction; but now they appear affected, their superstitious notions are shaken, and they allow, that those who are baptized, are delivered from the foolish dread of their gados."

Arabini greatly facilitated their labours by his zealous endeavours to awaken the attention of his countrymen to the things belonging to their peace. After one of the missionaries had delivered a discourse, he generally added a short exhortation of his own, expressed in a manner well calculated to arrest the attention of his countrymen. Once he addressed them thus: "You acknowledge me for your Chief, and therefore ask my advice in all important concerns, and I freely tell you my mind. You know I have often told you, how good it is to live in peace with the white people, and that it is not good, if it be broken through our fault. But when I tell you, that you wage war against *Him*, who has made you and the whole world, and who out of love to us, has come down from heaven to redeem us from all iniquity by his own blood and death, you pay little attention to my discourse. God hath sent teachers to make these things known to us: I beseech you, reflect seriously on these great truths." On another occasion, when the subject of the sermon had been the final judgment, Ara-

bini, overhearing some of the heathen converse together and remarking, that then they would hide in the wood; or kill themselves, stepped forward and thus addressed them: "The Lord will know where to find you, even those who have died many years ago; *all, all* must appear before him; and those, who have loved him in this world, he will bring with him into eternal joy, but all the rest he will consign to the torments of everlasting fire." Some replied, that as so many would share in the punishment, it would not be so severe to each individual. Arabini shrewdly answered: "Try the experiment, and all of you put your fingers together into the fire, let us see, whether each individual will not feel the same degree of pain, as if he were alone." Struck dumb by this remark, the whole assembly broke up with a heavy sigh.

In 1785 the Negros again changed their place of abode, and moved further down the river to the mouth of the *Wana Creek*\*; whither the missionaries followed them the next year. They called this place **NEW BAMBEY**.

Amidst many difficulties they continued their labours on this new station with persevering zeal. They made occasional visits to the neighbouring villages, sowing the seed of the Word in faith, and in hope that God would at some future period give the desired increase. The progress of their few converts in evangelical knowledge and Christian practice was slow, and often impeded by the many temptations, which were daily thrown in their way. Though the missionaries, in a considerable degree succeeded to wean them from the lying vanities of their former lives, yet these were so deeply rooted in

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\* These frequent removals, though unpleasant and troublesome, are not attended with any great expense. The erection of a new house is the work of a few days, and requires comparatively little labour. Nine posts are driven into the ground, and the spaces between them filled up with a kind of palm leaves, very large and thick; these leaves also serve for the door. They are plaited and tied together by means of a plant called *bushken* [or woodrope,] which twines itself round large trees frequently attaining the length of twenty or thirty feet, and is easily split so as to become as fine as a thread. The roof is covered with leaves of another tree, called *Tassi*. Thus the whole edifice is completed without lime, mortar, or a single nail; and yet such a building will stand several years without needing any repairs.

their hearts, that wholly to eradicate them required constant care and vigilance. Here again Arabini's firm and decided opposition to every thing of a superstitious nature was of great use. On the death of one of his relations, who had been a zealous idol-priestess, he gave strict orders, that no pagan rites should be performed at her funeral. The heathen, however, availing themselves of his absence, pretended, that the deceased was unwilling to be removed, and it was necessary first to inquire, who had been the cause of her death. They were proceeding to institute this inquiry, when Arabini arrived and, by laying hold of the bier himself, convinced the heathen that the corpse *could* be removed, and thus confounded the sorcerers. This was a most fortunate circumstance, for their custom on such occasions is shocking to humanity. The sorcerers pretend they have discovered the murderer, and, fixing on some miserable wretch, apply the most cruel tortures to extort a confession of the alleged crime from him, and then put him to death in a most barbarous manner.

By degrees, however, the savages themselves became ashamed of this superstitious and cruel practice. In 1791, a woman pretended that she had repeatedly dreamed that a man came to her with a fire-brand in his hand, which she interpreted as a sure indication, that he was a sorcerer and poison-mixer, and consequently ought to be burned. A council was convened to decide the fate of this unfortunate man. Arabini, (who, as captain of the village presided at this consultation,) with the unanimous approbation of all the counsellors, declared: "They could pay no attention to such absurdities, and, if no other evidence of the guilt of the accused person could be adduced than foolish dreams, no one should dare to do him the least injury." Upon the whole, the pagan inhabitants of the village, though they showed no disposition to be converted, laid no further impediments in the way of their believing countrymen, but evinced a spirit of toleration and liberality, when preparing for any religious solemnity, and were even ready to assist them. They, however, expected the same liberality from the Christian Negros, and expressed displeasure when they refused to assist them in their idolatrous festivities."

In subsequent years the prospect became more exhilarating. The missionary Wicz, in a letter, dated May 1798, writes : " We enjoy many happy days with our small congregation of believing Free-negros. Our Saviour leads them to more steadfast faith in his precious atonement, and grants them a gradual increase in the knowledge of themselves and of *his* great love to sinners. By means of the conversations of the Christian Free-negros, who are stirred up to declare the truth to their countrymen, the gospel spreads more and more in the upper country, or highlands. Two heathen from those parts have been baptized." A man, who at his baptism was called Paul, evinced particular zeal. He had formerly been a zealous idolator, and had never resided with the missionaries. Yet, it was chiefly by his means that the awakening in the highlands commenced ; and it was at his house that those, who desired instruction, used to meet for religious exercise and edification.

The missionaries also made frequent excursions to the highlands, and found many attentive hearers in every village, where they preached. They remarked it as a singular fact, that in those villages, where the heathen sorcerers had formerly had the greatest influence, the gospel now appeared to make the deepest impression. Many of the highlanders expressed a wish, that some of the brethren would settle among them, and a spot of ground was chosen for the building of a house and chapel. This, however, could not be executed. Frequently there was only one missionary at NEW BAMBEY, who consequently could not be absent ; and the roving disposition of the Free-Negros, who are never long stationary in one place, threw insurmountable obstacles in the way of its execution. For no European constitution can bear the excessive fatigue and other hardships, unavoidably connected with moving to and fro through the forest. Many valuable lives of missionaries have formerly been sacrificed in the attempt.

The missionaries, therefore, were obliged to content themselves with occasional visits to the highlands. These visits were for some years chiefly undertaken by three of the native assistants, who were much better able to endure the difficulties of these journeys than Europeans. Their simple, but zealous

testimony of Jesus and his atonement found ready entrance in several places, and led to true conversion of heart. Thus, when a missionary could pay a visit in those parts, he found the way in, a great measure prepared. He was not only welcomed with joy by the Free-negros, who came in numbers to hear him, and often, after listening for nearly two hours to a sermon, would request him to continue his discourse; but also discovered in some of them such evident signs of repentance and a change of mind, that he felt no hesitation in admitting them to holy baptism.

In 1793 a death occurred at NEW BAMBEY, the attending circumstances of which made a salutary impression upon the minds of the inhabitants, especially the young people. Brother Wiez gives the following account of it: "August 30th the Negro *Cornelius*, who had been out hunting, was brought home very ill. He was yesterday bitten in the leg by a rattlesnake and suffered very great pain, the swelling having spread above the hip. In the following days the poison spread further, and the offensive smell, occasioned by its effects, rendered it very unpleasant to be with him. September 16th being in great torment both of body and mind he sent for me. He seized my hand with eagerness, and held me fast; confessed that even since his baptism he had frequently committed sin, and declared that he now felt forsaken of God, and expected soon to be cast into everlasting darkness.

"His parents and younger brother, who were baptized, and the former assistants in the mission, were present and exceedingly affected. I encouraged the patient to turn with confidence to Jesus, our compassionate Saviour, who had received gifts for man, yea for the rebellious also. But he refused comfort, and without reserve accused himself before all, who visited him, as a miserable, perishing sinner, adding, that the Lord would not now receive him, as he had behaved too wickedly.

"On the 18th, he again sent for me. He was in the same state of despondency, and entreated me and all the Negros present to pray for him, that he might receive mercy; which we did, kneeling round his bed; and he himself prayed most fervently and incessantly. When I visited him the day follow-

ing, he received me with joy, and said that he had obtained forgiveness of his sins, and felt the peace of God in his heart; and that he now greatly desired soon to depart and be with Christ. He then addressed the company present to the following effect: 'Ah! my friends, abide in Jesus; give him your whole heart; and do not turn again to the ways of sin: look at me and consider how things have gone with me! I am a great sinner, but I have obtained mercy and pardon! yea, most assuredly every thing has been forgiven me; I have obtained mercy! Ah! join me to praise and thank our Saviour!' On the 26th he departed this life rejoicing.

"This man was the eldest son of our assistant Andrew, and was under strong convictions when a boy. The best hopes were entertained of his prosperity, and in 1784, he was admitted to the class of candidates for baptism. However he deviated from the path of truth, and got entangled in the snares of sin. God then made use of various extraordinary means to bring him to reflection. Once, when fishing he was bitten by a poisonous fish, and it was with difficulty that his life was preserved. He showed signs of repentance for a season which, however, did not last. Some time after he was attacked and bit by a wild-boar, and again lay dangerously ill. He then confessed it to be a chastisement for his unfaithfulness; and seemed disposed to forsake his heathenish connexions, and turn with his whole heart to the Lord. But, alas! by degrees his good resolutions again vanished. Last year, when hunting in the woods, a tyger sprang upon him and tore him in a shocking manner. He now was brought to more solid reflection, and expressed a great desire to be truly converted. January 6th he was baptized, and for a short time appeared to be seriously awakened. Yet he did not remain faithful to the grace received, but seemed gradually relapsing into his former habits. When, therefore, the above mentioned accident happened, he immediately cried out: 'This is of God, and a just judgment, which will cost me my life.'"



Besides attending to their regular occupation of preaching, keeping school and instructing their converts more fully in the way of the Lord, the missionaries were diligently employed in translating. WIEZ revised the translation of the four gospels, to which he added a version of the Acts of the Apostles and the Epistles, and revised and enlarged the hymn-book in use among them. And, though the increase of their congregation was not rapid, yet they had frequently a considerable number of hearers, and no year elapsed without the admission of one or more heathen to baptism. From the commencement of the mission in 1771, to the end of the eighteenth century, fifty-nine heathen had been baptized, of whom seventeen had died in the faith; there were then forty nine persons belonging to the congregation.

For several succeeding years no material change took place in the affairs of this mission, but in 1810 dark and heavy clouds seemed to rise in that quarter, and even to threaten the extinction of the light of the gospel. The missionaries remark: "If ever the power of Satan was any where manifest, it is among the Free-negros at BAMBEY. He exerts it by a host of diabolical emissaries, by sorcerers and old witches, with their lying fables and predictions, and by other heathen, who, having been excited to enmity against the government, seem determined to expel the missionaries from the country, because they are appointed to transact affairs between the Negros and government. If it thereby becomes necessary to give up this agency, by which the station has hitherto been maintained, we cannot much longer support a mission in this wild country. The rebellious spirit, now prevailing among the Free-negros, has also more or less influence upon our small flock of Christian Negros, and we can find but few, and those chiefly among the old people, who are to be depended upon as sincere and faithful to their convictions. John Arabini finds his influence and authority as captain inadequate to resist the overwhelming torrent of wickedness and rage of the enemy. Nothing but Almighty power can do this, and overcome and cast out Satan\*."

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\* Per. Acct. Vol. v. p. 79.

This wild and ungovernable spirit began afterwards gradually to abate, and the baptized became sensible of the loss they would have sustained, if things had proceeded so far as to oblige their teachers to leave them. Several came and penitently owned their defection, expressing a sincere wish to be again restored to true spiritual life. The missionaries, therefore, took fresh courage, and, trusting in the grace and support of our Almighty Saviour, resolved still to hold out at their difficult post, and brother Maehr and his wife being left alone at BAMBEY, he resigned the office of agent for the government among the Free-negros. Hereby the maintenance of that station became more difficult and, without the prospect of much eventual success, greatly increased the general expense of the missions; and as brother Maehr's wife suffered much from illness, and no assistance could, under existing circumstances, be speedily expected from Europe, it became necessary to suspend the mission in this quarter, at least for some time.

Of all the stations, occupied by our missionaries in South America, this may be justly deemed the most difficult. The roving disposition of the Free-negros, and their superstitious and idolatrous habits militated most strongly against the success of the gospel. And the unhealthiness of the climate was a constant source of severe trials to the missionaries. They were not only frequently confined by sickness, but many departed this life almost as soon as they had arrived. Those, who survived the seasoning fever, were often debilitated in their constitution, and seldom could hold out many years, without occasional visits to Europe or North America to recruit their health. These frequent changes, besides other disadvantages, were attended with this, that but few of the missionaries acquired a competent knowledge of the Saramacca language.

To the hardships, connected with the situation of the missionaries at BAMBEY, must likewise be reckoned the difficulty of conveying provisions and other necessary articles from Paramaribo. The boats, which brought them, were frequently upset and the whole cargo lost, by which the missionaries suffered very serious privations for many weeks. Equal difficulties, and even dangers, attend their voyages to this unfrequented and se-

questered spot, which, lying in the midst of a horrid wilderness, is almost secluded from any intercourse with European settlements. The reader may form some idea of the toils and perils of such a voyage, by the following extracts, copied from the journal of two of the missionaries, travelling from Paramaribo to BAMBEY in September 1797.

After briefly narrating the events of their voyage up the river, till they had reached the last European plantation, brother Langballe, the writer of the journal, thus proceeds: "We now with good courage and fine weather prepared to encounter the difficulties before us in the wilderness. Having turned the point of a large island, the whole breadth of the first cataract, called *Kamwatra*, opened to our view. Although it cannot be reckoned among the largest in the world, yet a person, unaccustomed to such a sight, is seized with sudden surprise and shuddering, in making up against an immense fall of water, three hundred paces in breadth, and rushing over huge stones. We kept as close as possible to the left bank; where the stream was so rapid, that though eight Negros pulled with all their might, the coryar \* often stood still, and they were obliged to get into the water and drag it forward with their hands. Having reached a little cove, they landed to recruit their strength, before they proceeded up the cataract. This can be only done by keeping close under the brush-wood near the shore, and by managing the boat with the greatest care and exertion. About five we gained the top of the first cataract, and soon arrived at the foot of the second, called *Alisu Banya*, which has steeper falls, or steps, than *Kamwatra*, and is consequently more dangerous to pass. As it was too late to venture on this work to-day, our Negros landed and found some old huts, where we resolved to take up our night's lodging. These huts are open on all sides, with a flat roof made of palm-leaves. We made a fire before our hut, and prepared our supper of some victuals we had brought from Paramaribo, and, as it was the third day since we had taken any thing warm, it proved the more relishing.

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\* A coryar is an open boat, without sail, propelled solely by rowing.

"At six o'clock the next morning we left our safe cove, to ascend the cataract. As we would not venture into the boat, the Negro boy, Joseph, attended us with an axe, and we proceeded by land, cutting our way through the wood. About eight we reached the great cataract, *Kapassi Creh*. The noise of its fall was so loud, that we could not hear our own voices, and the agitation of the waters, occasioned by the rushing of the torrent over huge stones, is perceived at a great distance. We again ascended through the woods, leaving the Negroes to force the boat along. The river is very broad here, but, in every direction, full of rocks. About noon we passed a small cataract, *Allutta Ganse*, and at two o'clock another, called *Lokusse*. We also ran upon one of the many low rocks, which lie concealed under the water, but, by God's mercy, received no injury. We took up our quarters for the night upon a small island, overgrown with trees. We could not construct night-huts, but, the weather being fine, fastened our hammocks to the trees. Feeling rather feverish, I exercised myself by walking in hopes it would relieve me. In a while we heard distant thunder, and the Negroes, perceiving the approach of rain, made a small covering of tassa leaves, and fixed it on four posts. In about half an hour a violent storm arose, and was soon succeeded by such a heavy shower, that, though I was in a great perspiration, I was forced out of my hammock, and took shelter under the covering. We were in all ten persons, and obliged to stand very close together. The thunder, lightning and rain increased, and all our fires were put out, excepting one brand, which the Negroes preserved to kindle a new fire when the rain should cease. Brother Maehr and I were placed in the middle, and as long as the roof kept out the water, I fared pretty well, the Negroes standing close, to keep off the wind. But after some time the rain forced its way through the roof, and we and all our things were thoroughly soaked. The Negroes expressed great concern for me, and about ten I felt so weak and weary, that I was obliged to lie down dripping wet in my hammock, which had been again fixed under a tree. However, having sufficient covering, I kept warm, and in the morning felt much better, for which I gave thanks to our gracious

Saviour. Brother Maehr, being more inured to hardships, continued in good health and spirits.

“The next day we passed several cataracts. It is astonishing to see what these people will do, sometimes rowing, sometimes jumping into the water and pushing the boat forward, at other times they are obliged to swim and drag it along.”

Having encountered the danger of ascending upwards of twenty of these cataracts (or ledges of rocks across the whole breadth of the river,) the travellers arrived safe and in good health at BAMBEY, after a voyage of seven days from the time they left Paramaribo, and of five days through the wilderness\*.

## SECTION V.

### *Paramaribo.*

AT the time, when the Brethren were invited to begin a mission among the Free-negros, brother Kersten, who has been mentioned in the preceding section, was commissioned by the directors of our missions, to inquire into the practicability of serving the Negro-slaves in PARAMARIBO with the gospel. This had been the pious desire of the Brethren from the very commencement of their missionary labours in Surinam; but, for several years, serious obstacles impeded the execution of this design.

At that period the proprietors of slaves and many other European residents in PARAMARIBO were so strongly prejudiced against the Brethren, that they were prohibited by government admitting any of their neighbours to their family devotions, the privileges, obtained from the Surinam Trading Company, being exclusively intended to grant liberty to them to propagate the gospel among the Indians, residing in the wilderness. The circumstances of their other establishments in the country, however, required, that one or more brethren should reside in the capital, to serve as agents to the mission. In this view Kersten and some other brethren lived there and established the business of tailors, in which they employed hired Negroes

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\* Per. Acct. Vol. ii. p. 424.

as journeymen and apprentices. The Lord blessed the labour of their hands, so that in 1767 they were enabled to purchase a house, with a large piece of ground adjoining, which they laid out in a garden and burying-place. By degrees the prejudices against them subsided, and they gained the esteem of both high and low, and also of the government.

After patient waiting, the brethren Kersten and Rose had, at length, in the year 1768, the joy to perceive a desire excited in three of their Negroes to be instructed in the doctrines of the gospel. For this purpose they came every evening, when their daily work was finished, to Kersten, who could speak with them in their own language. These instructions were continued by Rose, during the absence of Kersten among the Free-negros. Two or three other brethren, who were sent to the assistance of Rose, fell asleep in Jesus soon after their arrival in the country. Amidst these distressing occurrences the Lord preserved the courage of brother Rose, and gave him pleasing tokens, that his labour was not in vain. Two of the slaves, whom he had instructed in Christianity, closed their earthly pilgrimage in a very happy frame of mind, confidently relying on the atonement of Jesus, and filled with assured hope of life and immortality. During their sickness they cheerfully testified their faith in our Saviour.

In 1776 brother Kersten returned to PARAMARIBO to undertake the general superintendence of the Surinam Mission. In July the first Negro-slave was baptized, and the following month seven more were, by this solemn rite, admitted to the Church of Christ. These transactions were performed without the least molestation, either on the part of government, or the proprietors of the baptized Negroes.

Meanwhile two brethren had arrived from Europe as assistants in the mission. One of them commenced the business of a baker, in order to lessen the expenditure of the general missionary fund. Besides the building required for this establishment, their premises were further enlarged by the erection of a chapel in 1778, and the year after government granted to the mission a piece of land, without the precincts of the city, for a burying-place.

The eagerness of the Negroes to hear the gospel, and its saving and converting influence on their souls, became more and more evident. There were in general about two hundred at the preaching, and scarce a month passed without the baptism of one or more ; so that by the end of the year 1779, their congregation consisted of one hundred and one, besides forty, who were receiving special instruction, with a view to their admission to the sacred rite of baptism.

The conduct of the Christian Negroes clearly evinced, that their profession of the gospel was something more than a cold assent to certain truths, and a formal observance of the external ordinances of religion. The sincerity of their faith was repeatedly put to a severe trial. Of this the following may serve as a proof. Governor Texier, who had always shewn himself a sincere friend to the Brethren, before his return to Europe, in 1780, gave several public entertainments to the gentlemen of the colony. On these occasions he requested from the proprietors of estates the service of such of their slaves, as had been baptized. One day, while the heathen Negroes were diverting themselves at a dance, the governor went up to a female slave, whom he had known as a celebrated dancer, but, who had now joined the Christian Negroes, and with a view to try the sincerity of her profession, offered her a present if she would join in the dance. But she remained firm to her purpose, steadfastly refused taking any part in the merriment, and at last asked him, whether he did not know, that at her baptism she had changed her name from *Kea* to *Elizabeth*, and was no longer the same person. The governor, much pleased with her firmness, replied in a friendly manner : “ Yes, I know it, and you do right ; keep in this mind till the end of your life, and it will be well for you.”

Two Negro women, on another occasion, met with a still harder trial of their sincerity. Their mistress, a so-called Christian, insisted on their joining in some necromantic tricks ; but they declared that, on embracing the Christian faith, they had abjured all heathenish superstitions, and therefore could no longer take any part in them. Their mistress hereupon threatened them with the severest punishment, if they persisted in

their refusal. Undismayed by this, they gave each other a reciprocal pledge, rather to suffer death itself, than deny the Lord, by again practising pagan sorceries.

An example of fortitude no less striking, was exhibited by a mulatto boy, only sixteen years of age. His master, who was a Jew; being informed of his baptism, threatened to have him bound and flogged. The boy courageously answered: "*That you may do; but you cannot thereby rob me of the Lord Jesus, and the grace he hath imparted to me in these days.*" Fortunately this poor lad met with a protector in an attorney, who had hired him, and by whose interference the Jew was prevented from doing him any injury.

Though these facts plainly indicate, that the animosity against the Brethren, or rather against the gospel which they preached, had not entirely subsided; yet in general, their endeavours for the conversion of the Negros, and the consistent conduct of the baptized, gained daily more esteem, so that most proprietors were pleased when their slaves attended the preaching. Exceptions in this respect were very rare, and if at any time a case occurred, in which a master inflicted stripes, or other ill treatment, on his slaves for their attendance at the Brethren's chapel, the Lord enabled them to bear such injuries with patience, and even to rejoice, that they were deemed worthy to suffer stripes for the name of Jesus.

A visitation to the mission in this country being deemed necessary, brother Liebisch, one of the directors of the missions, proceeded to PARAMARIBO in 1790, and during his stay succeeded in making several regulations and arrangements, which promised to promote the missionary cause in these parts.

The war, which in the sequel broke out between Great Britain and Holland, rendered the situation of the missionaries very precarious. They were for many months cut off from all communication both with Europe and North America, provisions became scarce and rose to an enormous price, and, what was still more distressing, no assistants could come to them, though their accumulated and increasing labours required the accession of several missionaries. These difficulties, however, were considerably lessened after the English had taken possession of the colony.



Notwithstanding these external impediments, their exertions for the spiritual benefit of the Negro slaves, were crowned with success. Many were awakened and embraced the gospel ; so that in 1800, the baptized Negros amounted to three hundred and fifteen, besides a considerable number of catechumens, and regular hearers at their chapel in PARAMARIBO.

As an additional instance, to those already related, of the unhealthiness of the climate, and the devotedness of heart to God and his cause, required in persons who engage in missionary labours in this country, it may here be mentioned, that in 1805 brother Nitschke departed this life in the short space of a week after his arrival.

Such occurrences, which were by no means unfrequent, not only proved very afflictive to the surviving missionaries, but greatly augmented their labours ; for the Lord continued to prosper their work in a remarkable manner. In a letter, dated August the 30th, 1814, the missionaries remark : “ The work of God among the Negros in PARAMARIBO continues to increase, and we have great reason to rejoice, and take courage, when we see such marked proofs of the divine blessing upon our feeble ministry. Sometimes, indeed, occurrences happen which give us much pain, when people who have begun well, turn again aside, and follow the world and the will of the flesh. We mourn over all those whom we are obliged, on that account, to exclude from our fellowship.

“ Our monthly prayer-days, as likewise the communion-days, are always distinguished by a particular experience of the grace and love of our Saviour towards his flock. Since the commencement of the year, forty-four adults and eight children have been baptized ; forty-four have been made partakers of the Lord's Supper ; eight adults and eight children have departed this life. There is also a continual accession of new people, who fill the vacancies occurring in this division, by the baptism of others. The meetings, on Tuesday and Friday evenings, for the reading of the Bible, are frequented by many hearers, particularly by strangers, whose behaviour is marked with such attention and devotion as one could hardly expect from people naturally restless and noisy.”

The benefit, derived by the Negros from their attendance on the meetings for reading and expounding the holy Scriptures, was greatly increased by the generous donation from the British and Foreign Bible Society of Dutch bibles and testaments, as it enabled them to read over at home and meditate upon those portions of holy writ, which they had heard read and explained in the chapel. At the same time the directors of our missions provided for the instruction of the children, by publishing for their use a Summary of Christian doctrine in Negro-English. Since then they have likewise published the Harmony of the four gospels in the vernacular dialect of the Negros. This increased the eagerness, not only of the children but also of many adult persons, to learn to read, in which several attained considerable proficiency.

According to the latest intelligence, received from that quarter, ninety-one persons were baptized in 1815, and the number of the congregation amounted to six hundred and sixty-three, of whom five hundred and fifteen were communicants.

## SECTION VI.

### *Sommelsdyke.*

The missionaries in PARAMARIBO did not confine their labours to the regular ministry of the gospel in their own chapel in that city; but by frequent visits to the circumjacent plantations endeavoured to diffuse the knowledge of God and our Saviour among the slaves in every part of the colony.

Government, approving of their laudable exertions, in the year 1785 consigned to them a piece of land on the river *Comnewyne*, where a fortification had formerly stood, called *SOMMELSDYKE*. After taking possession of this ground, which contained about fifty acres, thickly overgrown with wood and one entire swamp, the missionaries were obliged to spend much time and money in clearing and draining it, before they could erect the necessary buildings. Having in some degree accomplished this by the aid of hired Negroes, the missionaries L. Haidt and Corn. Clausen moved thither in April 1786, but

both of them in a few weeks finished their earthly pilgrimage, probably owing to the heavy damps rising from the land, which was not yet sufficiently drained. Two brethren from PARAMARIBO undertook the service at this station, till brother WIEZ and his wife arrived there in September from BAMBEY.

In a religious point of view the prospect was very cheering. Their sermons were in a short time attended by upwards of a hundred and fifty hearers, among whom were Negroes from several adjoining estates. Before the end of the year above forty had been baptized, and the number of the regular catechumens amounted to upwards of one hundred and fifty.

Difficulties, however, were not wanting. Some proprietors of estates knew so little of the gospel, that they considered its diffusion among the slaves as perfectly useless, and on this account would scarcely permit their attendance at church, much less promote the good cause, though they treated the missionaries, as neighbours, with every mark of civility. Other gentlemen commended the exertions of the Brethren, but refused permission to their slaves to go to SOMMELSDYKE, requiring that the missionaries should come and preach to them on their respective plantations, in which case they promised to give their Negroes sufficient time to receive religious instruction, and, when baptized, allow them occasionally to go to church. The chief reason for these restrictions must be sought for, not so much in aversion to the gospel, as in the difficulty attending their visits to SOMMELSDYKE. They could not get there any way but by water. These little voyages were often dangerous, and at times, when the slaves obtained permission to go, they could not procure a boat to carry them. These circumstances obliged the missionaries to spend most of their time in visits to the different plantations.

In March 1788 an event occurred, which increased the difficulties just mentioned, and impeded the progress of the mission. One day twelve Negro women and one man went in an old crazy boat to SOMMELSDYKE. The harder they found it to obtain permission to go, and to procure a conveyance, the more eager were they to improve the opportunity, numbers pressed forward, and thus the boat was too heavily laden. They, how-

ever, reached SOMMELSDYKE without any accident, but on their return the boat sunk. Three Negro women were drowned; the rest saved themselves by swimming. One of the women, who could swim, ventured three times into the water to assist others; but during her last effort her strength was exhausted, and she lost her own life while endeavouring to save that of others.

It was to be expected that this occurrence would deter many proprietors and managers of estates from suffering their Negroes to go to church. Some of them, after a friendly conversation with the missionaries, in which they acknowledged the great utility, resulting from their endeavours to instruct the slaves in Christianity, promised to provide a better boat for their Negroes, that they might not be prevented attending divine worship. One of the managers, however, did all he could to frustrate the benevolent intentions of the rest. He so increased the labour of those slaves, who belonged to the congregation at SOMMELSDYKE, that they could not attend divine service on Sunday\*; and when the missionaries came to his estate he would not suffer them to speak to the Negroes; he even threatened the latter with punishment, if he observed any of them salute the missionaries. Better disposed managers occasionally gave them a free day in the week, which was religiously observed like a sabbath. The manager of a certain estate always notified it to the missionaries whenever he gave his slaves one, or more free days, that they might improve such opportunities for the instruction of their converts.

Notwithstanding all the hindrances thrown in their way, the missionaries had the joy to see the work of conversion proceed in stillness, yet with evident marks, that it was the work of *God* and not of *man*. At the close of 1789, though within that very year a considerable number had been carried off by the small-pox,† upwards of a hundred baptized Negroes belonged

\* It is, alas! no uncommon thing in this country to oblige the Negroes to work on Sunday.

† This distemper, which had not been known in the country for twenty-four years, was brought thither in September 1789 by a slave ship. It raged with great violence, especially in the town of Paramaribo, where it proved far more fatal than on the plantations, upwards of seventy dying sometimes in

to SOMMELSDYKE, besides many others, who were enjoying regular instruction in the saving truths of the gospel.

On the one hand, the missionaries in subsequent years still met with occasional obstructions to their benevolent exertions from the stewards on some of the estates; but on the other hand, they had many clear proofs that the Lord smiled on their labours, and that if *he* is pleased to prosper the work of his servants, no human opposition can prevent its progress. The congregation at SOMMELSDYKE consisted in 1816 of one hundred and four baptized Negros, besides a number of catechumens. Many circumstances, related in the preceding section, might be repeated here, as they affected the missionary cause at this station no less than in PARAMARIBO.

On February 25th, 1816, the British ceded the colony to the Dutch. The new governor, agreeably to the express instructions he had received from the king of the Netherlands, promised his protection to the missionaries. It is only paying a just tribute of gratitude to the late English governor, general Bonham, to acknowledge the very kind attention he uniformly evinced towards them, and the lively and generous interest he took in the mission.

We shall close the history of the missionary labours of the Brethren in South America, with enumerating the number of missionaries employed, and of heathen converted by their means, from the beginning of the mission in this country, to the commencement of the present century, comprising a term of sixty-five years. During this period 159 brethren and sisters had served the mission, 75 of them had departed this life in the country, 63 had returned to Europe, and 21 were still actively engaged in the Lord's service on the different station in Guiana. During the same period there had been baptized by them 855 Indians, 59 Free-negros, and 731 Negro slaves and Mulattos, making a total of 1645 persons. Of this number 658 had died in the faith of the gospel, 594 were still living and enjoying the instruction of the missionaries, and the remaining 393 had forsaken the fellowship of the believers.

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one day. The whole number of deaths to the end of the year was computed to exceed three thousand.

## CHAP. V.

### MISSION IN THE WEST INDIES.

THE WEST INDIES comprehend a number of larger and smaller islands, lying, nearly in the form of a crescent, between North and South America, extending across the entrance of the Gulf of Mexico, from the north-west extremity of the Bahama islands, off the coast of Florida, to the island of Tobago, 120 miles from the coast of Terra Firma.

These islands have for a long series of years been in the possession of different European states. Those islands, in which the Brethren have established missions, are either subject to the dominions of England, or belonging to the crown of Denmark. The population, besides the European settlers, consists chiefly of Negros and Mulattos. The Negros, having been imported from Africa for the purpose of cultivating the soil, were held in a state of the most degrading and cruel slavery, till after the passing of the Abolition act, by which their condition was considerably meliorated, at least in those islands, which are under British dominion.

It is presumed that the reader is sufficiently acquainted with the situation, the climate and other circumstances, peculiar to the West Indies, to render further details on these subjects necessary. We may, therefore, proceed to the history of the missionary exertions of the Brethren narrating them in the order of time, in which they respectively commenced.

### SECTION I.

#### *Danish West India Islands.*

WITH an attempt to instruct the Negro slaves in these islands the Brethren commenced their endeavours for the conversion of the heathen. They began their labours in the year

1732, when brother Leonard Dober,\* accompanied by brother David Nitschman, left Herrnhut and proceeded to the island of St. Thomas. Many pious individuals, with whom they became acquainted on their journey, raised very strong objections against their undertaking.† Similar objections were repeated in Copenhagen, and the most appalling representations made to them of the difficulties and dangers, to which they would expose themselves. But they were not intimidated: and the unshaken trust, which they reposed in the help of the Lord, who they believed had called them to this work, at length induced several persons of distinction to interest themselves in their behalf. Some counsellors of state bade them farewell in these words: "Go, then, in the name of God; our Saviour chose fishermen to preach his gospel; and he himself was a carpenter and was called the son of a carpenter."

They arrived in St. Thomas on the 13th of December, ignorant in what manner and place they might obtain a livelihood; but God had provided for them. A friend in Copenhagen had, without their knowledge, written to a well disposed planter in the island, who received them into his house; and brother Nitschman, engaging in his trade as a carpenter, soon earned a sufficiency for their maintenance.

Immediately on their arrival they made inquiry for Anthony's sister Anna, and her brother Abraham.‡ They received the testimony of salvation by grace, through faith in Jesus, with demonstrations of heartfelt joy. It was not long before other Negros visited them, and earnestly begged for instruction. This greatly animated the missionaries, who, when observing the eagerness, with which the poor slaves listened to the word of reconciliation, gladly endured reproach and poverty.||

Many months had not elapsed, before they were obliged to

\* See p. 2. † The only person who encouraged them in their work, was the countess of Stolberg in Wernigerode, who remarked, "that our Saviour was worthy, that his servants should be willing even to sacrifice their lives in his cause." ‡ See p. 2.

|| The language, spoken by the Negros in the Danish Islands, is a mixture of Dutch and a low dialect of the German, which renders it very easy of acquisition to a native of Germany.

separate, as brother Nitschman, who had only accompanied his friend, returned to Europe in April 1733. The faith of the latter was put to a very severe trial, being now left without any visible means of support, as he could not follow his occupation of a potter, owing to the want of clay of a proper quality. Yet he did not lose his courage; and in a few weeks governor Gardelin, who was a pious man, made him the offer of being steward of his household. Dober accepted it on condition, that he should be permitted to instruct the Negros, whenever his master did not require his services. But he soon found, that this situation left him too little leisure for the prosecution of his missionary calling, and therefore in 1734 requested his dismission. He now hired a small room in the village of *Tappus*, and, by watching on the plantations and other services, earned a scanty livelihood, which enabled him to pay his rent, and procure bread and water; for he seldom had any thing better. His serenity of mind, however, did not forsake him; and he had it now in his power to devote all his time to the instruction of the Negros.

The year 1733 was signalized by very distressing occurrences in the Danish West Indies. Famine and contagious diseases carried off many people in St. Thomas. About the same time the Negros in the island of St. Jan revolted, took possession of the Fort, and cruelly murdered all those Europeans, who had not time to effect their escape. The rebellion continued above half a year, and the atrocities, committed by the insurgents, spread consternation through the other islands, and both the white population and the Negros were kept in constant terror of each other.\*

These events rendered the labours of brother Dober doubly difficult; but, while he was thus struggling with poverty and oppressed with many anxious cares, fourteen brethren and four

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\* The rebellion was not suppressed till the governor sent a strong force of mulattos to the island. The rebels, finding resistance vain, resorted to the following horrid expedient, in order to avoid being made prisoners. One after the other suffered himself to be shot by the ringleaders, and when they had completed their murderous work, they shot themselves. Risler, Part ii. Sec. 2. p. 14.



sisters were on their way, partly destined for missionary service in St. Thomas, and partly designed to begin a colony in the island of St. Croix.

This voyage was one of the most perilous, made by any of our missionaries to these islands. They sailed from Stettin on the 12th of November 1733. As the crew and passengers amounted to nearly one hundred persons, they were exceedingly crowded. Our brethren were confined to a room, below the second deck, only ten feet square, and so low that they could not even sit upright, but were obliged mostly to lie on the floor. The hardships of their situation were greatly increased as the stormy weather sometimes for several days prevented their going on deck. Stress of weather forced the captain to run into the harbour of Tremmesand in Norway, and to winter there. Not expecting to be so long detained in this place, they stayed on board for some time; but afterwards hired a room in the village, and by spinning, cutting wood, &c., earned enough to pay the rent. At the end of three months they once more set sail; but had again to encounter many hard gales, and when they reached the torrid zone they suffered extreme distress from the smallness of the apartment and want of water, which greatly debilitated them. After spending more than half a year on their journey and voyage they landed at St. Thomas on the 11th of June.

Two months after the arrival of this company brother Dober returned to Europe, having been chosen Elder of the congregation at Herrnhut, in the place of brother Linner, who had entered into the joy of his Lord. After his removal, those brethren, who had come out to succeed him in his labours, in a short time falling victims to the climate, the mission in St. Thomas suffered a temporary suspension.

With a view to renew it, brother Frederick Martin and another brother arrived in March, 1736, in St. Thomas. The former was in an eminent manner qualified for the work of a missionary, and endowed with peculiar talents for instructing the Negroes. The catechumens, left by brother Dober, greatly rejoiced at his arrival. Their number was daily increasing, so that in a few months, upwards of two hundred attended his in-

structions. On several of these the gospel displayed its converting power; and on the 30th of September three men were added to the Church by holy baptism, as the first fruits of the Negro slaves in this island. The benign influence of the gospel began to evidence itself, in a very striking manner, in the altered behaviour of many of those Negros, who attended the meetings. This was acknowledged by several proprietors, and induced them to favour the mission. One of them assisted the missionaries, who still lodged in the village of *Tappus*, to purchase a small plantation, of which they took possession in August 1737, and gave it the name of *POSAUNENBERG*.

On the other hand adversaries were not wanting, who opposed the work in every possible way, and rigorously forbade their slaves all intercourse with their teachers, thereby aiming at the total ruin of the mission. By false accusations they at length succeeded so far, that, towards the end of October, the missionaries were thrown into prison. But the Word of God was not bound; the awakened Negros continued to meet together for edification, and sometimes assembled in great numbers under the windows of the prison, where they joined in singing and prayer. These meetings likewise afforded their teachers an opportunity of testifying to them of the grace of God in Christ Jesus. Concerning this period brother Martin writes: "Since our arrest the Negro-congregation is daily increasing, and our Saviour strikingly manifests the power of his grace among them. By our confinement some white people are brought to serious reflection. I believe the Lord will make it a blessing to the whole island. Even in the fort some good has been done. There is scarce a soldier now, who ventures to defame us, though at first they were wicked enough so to do. I cannot describe what the Lord is doing. May he enable us to be a light to our fellow-men; and may he make us more faithful, more active and useful in his service, whether we remain in prison, or are set at liberty. I am determined, through the grace of God, to persevere, waiting on him to overrule all for his own glory. Be of good courage; many hundred persons in St. Thomas are praying to the Lord for our deliverance."

While the missionaries were in confinement, and before they

could transmit any intelligence of their situation to Europe, Count Zinzendorf resolved to visit St. Thomas. He took two brethren and their wives with him, to serve in the mission, and arrived in the island by the end of January 1739. He immediately waited on the governor, requesting the liberation of the missionaries. This was granted the next day, accompanied by an apology on the part of the governor for what had happened. He also made certain proposals, relative to the continuance of the mission; but they were of such a nature, that the Brethren could not accede to them, and therefore resolved to appeal to the king himself.

Count Zinzendorf was filled with astonishment at the extent of the work, in which the missionaries were engaged. For by this time the number of the Negros, who regularly attended the preaching of the gospel, amounted to eight hundred. They assembled every evening, as soon as their daily labour was done, and the Count frequently addressed them himself. Having in a solemn manner delivered a farewell-charge to them, the baptized followed him into the village. On their way they were attacked by some white people with sticks and drawn swords, and dispersed. Hereupon the white people proceeded to the Brethren's plantation, beat and wounded the Negros, who were there, and, during the absence of the missionaries, forced their way into the house, breaking and destroying all the furniture. The governor expressed his strong disapprobation of this outrage, and promised restitution of the damage they had sustained. The Count declared that he desired no restitution, but only protection for his brethren, and liberty to preach to the Negros. Notwithstanding the interference of the governor similar acts of violence were soon again committed, and even the missionaries themselves were maltreated. For a while, therefore, it became necessary to keep the meetings in the wood, and appoint watchmen, to guard the congregation against any sudden attack; but in a few weeks these outrages were suppressed.

Before the Count's return to Europe the Negro-men gave him a petition to be presented to the king of Denmark; praying for liberty to be instructed in religion; the Negro-women also

gave him a similar petition to the queen. These documents, seconded by a written representation from the Count himself, had the effect, that an order was passed at the Danish Court, dated August 7th, 1739, securing liberty and protection to the Brethren in preaching to the Negros\*.

The sufferings of the missionaries, however, did not entirely cease; but they were attended with very salutary effects. They

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\* Literal translation of the two petitions referred to:

1st. *Petition to the King*: "Most gracious lord King! Now we have hope that your majesty will command, that we may continue to learn to know the Lord Jesus. We remain immovable, if it please God our Lord; though we are greatly oppressed by men, who come and beat and cut us, when massa teaches us. They burn our books and say, 'the Negros must not be saved; a baptized Negro is fuel for hell-fire.' They have put the brethren, whom God hath sent to us, and who are the only survivors of twenty, for three months into the fort, and now they intend to expel them the country. They all appeal to your majesty and say: 'You had forbidden, that the Negros should be made acquainted with our Saviour, and would shortly send massa Martinus away.' But we do not believe this, and we pray your majesty, to permit us to be instructed in the knowledge of the Lord, and remain in connection with the Brethren's Church; for we wish to go with them to our Saviour. We will be obedient to our masters in all things; we only wish to send our souls to heaven to the Lord Jesus. Formerly we have defrauded our masters, stolen provisions, run away, and been idle. But now things are very different, as the masters themselves very well know. Many a Negro for his wicked deeds, has resolutely suffered his hands and feet to be cut off; we will cheerfully put our necks under the axe for the Lord Jesus and his congregation, if our masters, as they say, will kill us. God, the Lord, bless our most gracious King a thousand times. Written in St. Thomas the 15th of February, in the name of more than six hundred and fifty scholars of the Lord Jesus, who are instructed by massa Martinus. Signed by Peter and three other native assistants."

2nd. *Petition to the Queen, written by Magdalene, one of the female assistants*: "Great Queen! When I was in Papaa in Africa I served Mr. Mahu. Now when I have come into the land of the white people, they will not suffer me to serve the Lord Jesus. The white people will not obey him, and they may do as they please. But when the poor, black brethren and sisters wish to serve the Lord Jesus, they are looked upon as *maroons* (run-away Negros.) If it seemeth good to the Queen, may your majesty pray to the Lord Jesus for us, and pray likewise the King, that he may permit massa Martinus to preach the Word of the Lord, that we may learn to know the Lord; and that he may baptize us Negros. The Lord preserve and bless you, together with your son and daughter, and the whole family. I shall not cease praying to the Lord Jesus for you. Written in the name of more than two hundred and fifty Negro-women, who love the Lord Jesus."—Risler, Part ii. Sec. 2. p. 40

prevented insincere profession ; and, refined by this fiery trial, the true and upright believers ever established in the faith. Many years after they used to speak of this period, as a season of great searching of heart, and to remark, that their love to Jesus was so fervent, that they were ready joyfully to suffer for his sake ; and that the most cordial brotherly love prevailed among them. They might be said to give themselves wholly unto prayer ; for, besides meeting every evening for prayer and exhortation, they made a regulation among themselves, that one or more in rotation should spend the whole night in prayer.

The remark of the missionaries, when imprisoned, that the work of the Lord was not bound, continued in subsequent years to be strikingly verified. Besides preaching the gospel on their own plantation, the proprietors of three other estates permitted them to visit their Negroes, to instruct them in reading, and proclaim to them the glad tidings of salvation. In 1740 brother Martin writes : " Scarce a day passes but some of these poor creatures call upon us, bemoaning their sin and misery, and weeping for grace. When we walk out, we frequently observe one here and another there praying and crying to the Lord Jesus, for cleansing from sin by his precious blood. The power of the word of atonement, in convincing them of sin, and in magnifying the riches of divine grace, is truly astonishing.

In this manner the work of the Lord was constantly increasing ; on one day forty, and on another ninety Negroes were added to the Church by baptism. But this extension of the work, while it gladdened the hearts of the missionaries, required services, which almost exceeded the strength of the stoutest constitution. They were subject to repeated attacks of illness, and scarce a year elapsed, but one, or more of their number finished their earthly career. This mission was thus continually needing a fresh accession of labourers ; yet in the European congregations persons were always found, who were willing to supply the places of those that had entered into rest.

In 1747 brother Martin paid a visit to Europe, and, having presented a memorial to the king of Denmark, obtained a new royal rescript in favour of the mission, by which every thing,

relative to its uninterrupted continuance, was regulated according to the wishes of the Brethren.

Two years after bishop Johannes von Watteville held a visitation in the three Danish islands, for the purpose of inquiring into the state of the mission and assisting the brethren, employed in it, with his advice and counsel. He found that the labour of the missionaries had been less prosperous for some time, comparatively few had been admitted to baptism, many of the baptized had been discouraged by a too rigid exercise of discipline, and some of the missionaries had been disheartened and nearly lost their hopes. It was, therefore, resolved to treat all those, who had withdrawn, with kindness, and in every case, when their professions appeared sincere, to receive them again into fellowship. The consequence was, that a new awakening arose, which extended to the yet unbaptized catechumens, and by degrees spread through the whole island. Every evening the meetings were frequented by two or three hundred, and on Sundays by eight or nine hundred. On one Sunday no fewer than three hundred and eighty Negroes requested to have their names enrolled among the catechumens; the whole number of whom, in a short time, amounted to nine hundred, not including from two to three hundred children. During bishop Watteville's stay in the island, which lasted two months, above a hundred persons were baptized. Among these were several old, blind, and lame people, who came from a considerable distance. Hitherto the missionaries had been scrupulous about the baptism of infants, but they now came to a resolution, to baptize the children of believing parents as soon after the birth as convenient.

The governor and most other gentlemen in this and the two adjacent islands behaved with great politeness to bishop Watteville, and gave the Christian Negroes the testimony of good conduct, requesting that the vacancies, occasioned by the deaths or removals of missionaries, might be filled up as soon as possible.

Among those zealous servants of God, who about this time were called to receive the reward of their labours, was brother Frederick Martin, who entered into the joy of his Lord in

1750, after zealously serving the Negros with the gospel for fifteen years, and that during the most difficult period of the mission\*.

After the return of bishop Watteville the mission in this island continued in a flourishing state. In 1753 the missionaries changed the name of their plantation from POSAUNENBERG to NEW HERRNHUT; and, having purchased an estate on the opposite side of the island, called it NISKY. In both these places they published the glad tidings of salvation to great numbers of eager hearers; and upwards of an hundred were annually added to the Church by baptism. They had also a small meeting-house in the village of *Tappus*, chiefly for the convenience of the sick and infirm. They likewise preached on several estates, and many hundred children, living dispersed through the whole island, were diligently visited and instructed by brother Ronner. They were greatly assisted in their labours by the native assistants, of whom they had twenty-four, whose private exhortations, no less than their public testimonies of the gospel, were often strikingly blessed to their countrymen. Most of the planters became convinced, that the instruction of the Negros tended to their own advantage, and therefore gladly promoted their baptism and attendance at church, requesting the missionaries to visit them frequently. Government also, both at home and abroad, acknowledged the beneficial effects of their labours, and whenever required was ready to afford them protection.

In order to trace the beginning of the missionary establishments of the Brethren in the adjacent Danish islands, it is necessary to go back a few years in the narrative.

In the year 1733 the West India and Guinea Company at Copenhagen made a purchase of the large and fine island of St. Croix, which had been abandoned by the French for the space of forty years, and, having remained so long uncultivated, had become a perfect wilderness. The Lord Chamberlain, Count De Pless, who had kindly patronised the mission to Greenland,

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\* It is worthy of notice, that near fifty brethren and sisters, employed in the missionary establishments in the three Danish islands, had departed this life, within seventeen years. Risler, Part ii. Sec. 2. p. 52.

possessed six estates in this island. With a view to the cultivation of these lands, and the instruction of his Negroes, he applied to Count Zinzendorf for two brethren as overseers on each of his plantations. The request was no sooner made known to the congregation at HERRNHUT, than several brethren and sisters offered themselves to form a colony in St. Croix, in hopes of thereby obtaining an opportunity for preaching the gospel to the slaves. Count Zinzendorf indeed had serious objections to this scheme, fearing lest the colonists, by the unavoidable cares and labours of a temporal nature, which the situation required, should be diverted from their chief object; but as the majority of votes was in favour of the measure, he acquiesced. Out of those, who offered themselves for this undertaking, four married couples and ten unmarried brethren were selected; some of whom were destined for the mission in St. Thomas.

After a most perilous voyage\*, and a short stay in St. Thomas, the colonists arrived in St. Croix about midsummer in 1734, taking twelve Negroes with them to assist in the cultivation of the lands. But the insalubrity of the climate, added to their incessant labours, in which they exerted themselves beyond their strength, soon impaired their health; they all fell sick, and before the end of the year ten of them finished their mortal race. In 1735 their places were supplied by eleven persons; and Doctor Grothaus, a celebrated physician in Copenhagen, without the knowledge of the Brethren, went thither also, for the purpose of assisting them with his medical skill; but he died almost immediately on his arrival. In other respects too the colony did not answer; the survivors therefore (being only nine out of twenty-nine,) partly returned to Europe, and partly proceeded to St. Thomas to assist in that mission.

Though the colonizing system in St. Croix was thus relinquished, the Brethren did not altogether give up their exertions for the conversion of the Negroes. The missionaries in St. Thomas occasionally visited this island, especially brother

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\* See p. 296.



Martin, whose testimony of the gospel never failed to arrest the attention of the Negros, and create an earnest desire in them to be regularly instructed ; and this desire was not a little increased by such slaves, as had been awakened in St. Thomas, and were from time to time sold to proprietors of estates in St. Croix.

When this intelligence reached Europe several brethren offered themselves as missionaries for this island. Among these we notice in particular Albinus Theodore Feder, a student of theology, who, being properly ordained, was confirmed by a royal rescript, and furnished with a mandate for his protection against lawless people ; and Christian Gottlieb Israel. Israel was born of poor parents, educated in the orphan-house at Herrnhut, and afterwards learnt the business of a weaver. His constitution was very delicate, he was lame and mostly walked with a crutch, but he was imbued with an ardent and noble spirit ; and neither his bodily infirmity, nor any representations could damp his missionary zeal. After a voyage of about eight weeks, these two brethren landed on the island of St. Eustatia in January 1740. Hence they sailed for St. Thomas in an English sloop. The captain being unacquainted with the passage, the vessel struck upon a rock, and was wrecked early in the morning of the 17th. The sailors took to the boat, and left the missionaries with the vessel upon the rock. A row of stones, about a foot distant from each other, lay across from the rock to the beach. Feder let himself down with a rope into the sea, in order to get on shore, hoping thus to obtain assistance for his lame brother. But the fury of the waves threw him into the sea, to rise no more. Israel was now left alone on the rock. The wreck of the vessel for a while screened him against the dashing of the waves, but being soon entirely broken to pieces, he was every minute in danger of being washed into the sea. In the afternoon some people threw a rope to him, by which he was dragged on shore. Mr. Von der Pol, hospitably entertained him at his house, and procured him a passage to Tortola ; from whence he sailed to St. Jan, and finally arrived in St. Thomas on the 18th of February.

Besides brother Israel, George Weber and his wife moved

moved to St. Croix in 1740, to commence a regular missionary establishment in that island. A year or two after, brother Martin, being there on a visit, succeeded in purchasing a small estate for the Brethren, of which they took possession in the beginning of 1744; and in July the same year he baptized two men and two women, being the first Negros in this island, who were added to the Christian Church.

During the first years of their abode here the missionaries had to encounter various difficulties. The unhealthiness of the air and the hard labour, to which they cheerfully submitted in order to lessen the expense of the mission, occasioned the deaths of many in a short time after their arrival. And this was rendered doubly afflictive, as in case of the departure of an ordained missionary, who had been confirmed by the King, impediments were thrown in the way of his successors, if they had not by name obtained the royal confirmation. In the sequel, however, these obstacles were removed; and since then our brethren have been uniformly protected in the enjoyment of their privileges.\* No missionary, however, was stationed here for a constancy till the year 1753, when brother Ohneberg moved hither.

A few years after the mission in St. Croix had regularly commenced, the attention of the Brethren was directed to the small island of St. Jan, likewise belonging to the crown of Denmark. Previously to this they had occasionally visited on the island, as some of their converts from St. Thomas had been sold to proprietors on it. But in 1741 a circumstance occurred, which gave a new impulse to their exertions. Jens Rasmus, a pious man and overseer on a plantation, had formed an acquaintance with the Brethren in St. Thomas, and begun to preach to the Negros under his care. At his request brother Martin, and other missionaries from St. Thomas, assisted him in this labour of love, and occasionally abode some days, or even weeks, in the island, instructing the slaves. Their testimony of Jesus

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\* Among those missionaries, who at this time entered into rest, we must not forget to mention brother Israel. His active spirit, which had excited him to exertions far beyond his bodily strength, left its frail tenement on the 2nd of August 1743, and joined those who have died in the Lord.

Martin, whose testimony of the gospel never various kinds, the attention of the Negros, and create for a number of them to be regularly instructed; and the nomas, till brotherly increased by such slaves, as had residing on an estate, Thomas, and were from time to JETHANY. estates in St. Croix.

When this intelligence reached the three islands under the care of God, succeeded in offered themselves as missionaries. The Head of his Church, in whose we notice in particular A. began the work, and by whose theology, who, being they had achieved much during royal rescript, and by opposition and manifold hindrance against lawless persons, they had achieved much during was born of poverty, opposition and manifold hindrance shut, and after comparative ease and tranquillity, which now sustenance was as St. Croix and St. Jan had been supplied with a crucible missionaries, the good effects of it became visible in the and larger auditories, which attended the preaching of the gospel. and the increased number of those, who were engrafted into the Church by holy baptism. In St. Croix the number annually baptised amounted to upwards of a hundred, and in St. Jan exceeded fifty. In the former place the missionaries resided for some time on one of the Company's plantations called PRINCESS, till they found means of purchasing an estate of four acres, on which they erected a church and dwelling-house, and called it FRIEDENSTHAL.

In 1755 these islands were ceded by the West India and Guinea-company to the King, who appointed a governor-general for all the islands. This gentleman fixed his residence in St. Croix, and on every occasion showed himself the friend and protector of the mission. This was peculiarly manifest during an insurrection of the Negros, which had for its object the massacre of all the white inhabitants on christmas-night 1759. Some malicious people accused several of the Negros, baptized by the missionaries, of being implicated in the conspiracy; but their innocence was fully proved by the delinquents themselves. On this occasion the governor acted towards them like a father. By his advice they omitted the large assemblies of the Negros while the commotion lasted; and did not begin them again,

ained his permission ; and in order to authorize encourage the Negros in their attendance, he other gentlemen were present. Not long opportunity of evincing his good will order having been issued that no the streets, or roads, after seven he exempted from this restriction all the meetings of the Brethren, and could nicate signed by one of their teachers.\*

sequence of the war, in 1760, all intercourse with the colonies was prohibited. This occasioned great scarcity of provisions, which was the more severe as it succeeded a long continued drought. Many Negros perished with absolute hunger. Though the missionaries had but a scanty supply themselves, they did not suffer any of their Negros to be in real want, and even assisted to the utmost of their ability those on other plantations.

Of the internal state of the mission, at this period, the brethren employed in it give the following report: " By the preaching of the gospel many a slave of sin has attained to the knowledge of his misery, and to the enjoyment of grace in the blood of Jesus; on which account we cheerfully devote soul and body in his service, to help to gather in the reward of the travail of his soul from among the heathen. In this we are obliged to conform to their circumstances, and must in general employ the night for their service. The baptized are increasing in self-knowledge and becoming more grounded in the faith. What neither law, nor the most rigorous discipline of their overseers, can accomplish, is effected by the doctrine of Christ's

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\* Crantz's History of Brethren, Vol. i. p. 480, 481. This order seems to have been made in consequence of the fears entertained by some planters, that the Negros, under cover of attending the meetings, (which must be held in the evening as they have no leisure allowed them in the day,) would meditate some new mischief. As a pretext for this measure they alledged the fact, that in 1760 four baptized Negros, who, however, had long ago been separated from the brethren, were found among a band of seventy slaves, who were running away on account of harsh treatment, but being overtaken, had first thrown their wives and children into the sea, and then, with the exception of eight persons, jumped in themselves. Crantz's History, Vol. i. p. 542.

sufferings. Of this the masters are, for the most part, so fully sensible, that they are pleased, when their slaves go to our church. The children have their separate meetings, and are visited from time to time, but, as they are very early employed in all kinds of labour, we cannot attend to them with that care which we could wish."

This pleasing state of the mission continued in subsequent years. The *Buffals*, (i. e. Negros newly imported from Africa,) in particular manifested a great desire of hearing the Word of God and being saved.

In 1765 two disastrous events occurred. By the carelessness of other people the mission-house at the west end of St. Croix, lately erected, took fire and was burnt down. In St. Jan the church was thrown down by a storm, but to the great joy of the Negros, who had been obliged to meet in the open air, and to forego the celebration of the Lord's Supper, it was rebuilt the next year.

In 1767 seventeen slaves, belonging to the congregation in St. Croix, were carried to St. Eustatia. Here they were visited the following year by a missionary, and exhorted to constancy and faithfulness; and some regulations, tending to their edification, were made among them.

The number of communicants in St. Thomas had so much increased, that it was found necessary to administer this ordinance, not only at NEW-HERRENHUT, as had been the case hitherto, but also at NISKY, where a new church had been erected. The re-building of the mission-house, and the erection of a church at the west end of St. Croix, were also completed, and brother Melchior Schmidt and his wife, moved thither in May 1771. This place received the name of FRIEDENSBURG.

The following year was a period of much distress, but also of many mercies. In the night of the 31st of August a hurricane of unusual violence did considerable damage in all the three islands, but particularly in St. Croix. The newly-built house in FRIEDENSBURG was moved out of its place and greatly injured; and in FRIEDENSTHAL the church, the dwelling-houses and all the offices were blown down. The missionaries and their families, who had sought an asylum in the cellar

were for several hours kept in constant jeopardy of their lives, but were mercifully preserved. This tempest was succeeded by a general scarcity, famine and sickness. Great numbers died, especially of the Negros. Within a few months several brethren and sisters, employed in the mission, were removed to a better world. This greatly augmented the labours of the survivors; but they were powerfully strengthened and encouraged in their work by the pleasing progress of the mission. These external distresses seemed to awaken a new desire in the Negros to attain to a knowledge of those things, which belonged to their true peace. New people constantly flocked to the preaching, and though in FRIEDENSTHAL it was held for nearly a whole year in the open air, till the new church was built, the auditory mostly amounted to a thousand or upwards; and many were every month added to the Church by baptism.

A company of six missionaries, sailing for these islands in 1776, suffered shipwreck on the 30th of November off *Walsey*, one of the Shetland isles. But being very near the shore, they were all saved except one sister, who falling in among the wreck, could not be disentangled from the rigging. The proprietor of the isle, John Bruce Stewart, treated them with great hospitality, till they found an opportunity to go to Norway. From thence they proceeded the following February to St. Thomas.

Being on the 21st of August, 1782, fifty years since the beginning of this mission, and also of the missionary labours of the Brethren in general, this important event was in all the three islands celebrated with joyful solemnity. From the reports of the missionaries at that time it appears, that within this period, they had baptized 8883 adult Negros and 2974 children; of these 2381 adults and 975 children had died. And of the missionaries and their assistants, their wives and children, 127 had entered into eternal rest during these fifty years.

To accommodate those Negros, who lived at too great a distance from BETHANY to attend the meetings regularly, the Brethren, in the above-mentioned year, bought a house and a piece of ground in another part of the island of St. Jan.

In this place, which was called **EMMAUS**, a church was soon erected, and a missionary appointed for its service. Not only the slaves, but many of the white inhabitants in the neighbourhood, rejoiced at this establishment, declaring that they would diligently improve the opportunity thus afforded them, to join in divine worship.

The directors of the missions, considering that a visitation to these islands, by one of their number, might in various respects prove beneficial, brother John Loretz undertook this important commission. He arrived in St. Croix early in the year 1784, and spent several weeks here and in St. Thomas, in making himself acquainted with all the circumstances of the mission, and in deliberating with the missionaries and the native assistants on the best means of promoting the great work, in which they were engaged. Among other measures, it was resolved to bestow more time and labour in translating select portions of the holy Scriptures into the vernacular tongue of the Negroes. Brother Auerbach, who had occupied his leisure in this way, undertook the translation of the Sundays' gospels and epistles, the Harmony of the four evangelists, and the catechism, entitled "Summary of the doctrine of Christ and his Apostles." A severe attack of fever so debilitated brother Loretz, that he found himself unable to visit the island of St. Jan. He however obtained all necessary information from the missionaries; which enabled him, on his return, to give to the directors a full report of this interesting mission in all its branches.

During this year the Brethren experienced another encouraging proof of the benevolence of government. In consequence of a rumour, that the slaves at the west end of the island of St. Croix were plotting another rebellion, many were put into confinement, and a proclamation was issued prohibiting the Negroes from being seen in the streets after six o'clock in the evening; containing a clause, by which all those Negroes, who were going to the mission-church in **FRIEDENSBERG**, were exempt from this restriction.

In 1784 the mission in these islands sustained a very serious loss, in consequence of the departure of brother Martin Mack.

He had joined the Church of the Brethren in 1731. A few years after he went to America, assisted the late Rev. George Whitfield in the erection of Nazareth, and took an active part in the building of Bethlehem. Afterwards he was employed for almost twenty years in the mission among the North American Indians, during a period of persecution and many dangers. In 1762 he came to the Danish West Indies, as superintendent of all the missionary establishments of the Brethren in these islands; and, during the space of twenty-two years, spent all the energies of his body and mind in the zealous discharge of the important duties of his office. His fellow-labourers loved and esteemed him as a man of tried integrity and unabating ardour in the noble cause in which he was engaged, and who had grown grey in the service of his Lord. The governor-general, besides many private gentlemen, honoured his funeral with their presence, as the last testimony of respect they could give to one, whose memory will be held in deserved veneration as long as the inhabitants of these islands shall feel the value of the gospel, and know how to appreciate the services of those, who spend health and strength, yea life itself, in its propagation.

After the decease of this faithful servant of Christ, it was found more expedient to commit the general superintendency of the mission, not to one individual, but to a committee, consisting of one, or more missionaries from each settlement. The advantages of this regulation were soon apparent. New zeal and activity on the part of the missionaries, and new attention to the gospel on the part of their converts and hearers, became manifest. Many were baptized; those, who had been of long standing in the Church, were excited to be more diligent in making their calling and election sure; even such, as had been excluded on account of misconduct, were led to serious self-examination, and, on giving evidence of sincere repentance, were restored to the fellowship of the believers.

At the same time difficulties, which occasionally impeded the pleasing progress of the mission, were not wanting. In one instance, the increasing number of Roman Catholic proprietors diminished the auditories of our missionaries. For these gen-



tlemen, not only employed their slaves till a late hour on Saturday evening, but even obliged them to work on the Lord's day, and thus deprived them of the bare possibility of attending the church. Some of these masters required their slaves to bring them a stipulated sum of money every week, which they must earn in the best manner they could. Money being scarce at that time, they had but a poor chance of earning much; and this tempted many Negroes to resort to dishonest and fraudulent practices, in order to avoid punishment, which was most rigorously inflicted, if they failed in their payment.

A difficulty of a new kind was experienced by the missionaries in St. Croix. As the number of proprietors, who spoke the English language increased, that tongue by degrees predominated and nearly superseded the Creol. In consequence of this, few of the missionaries could render themselves sufficiently intelligible to the slaves, many of whom understood neither Creol nor English. Brother Schaukirk, however, commenced regular preaching in the English language.

An uncommon drought, and consequently unproductive harvest, in 1789, occasioned distresses of various kinds. Many proprietors were not able to maintain their slaves; numbers, therefore, perished from absolute want, and others were by the pinchings of hunger driven to acts of dishonesty. Even some, who were members of the Brethren's Church, yielded to the power of temptation and thus caused their teachers much sorrow; the major part, however, were enabled by divine grace, rather to suffer every extremity and even death itself, than resort to unlawful means of supplying their wants. The rectitude of their conduct was so well known, that they were constantly employed as overseers and watchmen on the plantations. Notwithstanding this decisive proof of the beneficial influence of the gospel, some proprietors and stewards still made use of every artifice, and even resorted to severe punishment, to prevent their Negroes from attending the church. The native assistants were, in particular, exposed to persecutions of this kind.

On the part of government, however, the mission continued to enjoy respect and protection. In consequence of some new regulations in the post-office, the missionaries obtained, with

the consent of the king, the privilege of carrying on their correspondence free of postage. The governor-general, Count Schimmelman, before his return to Copenhagen, assured them that he would, at all times, serve them to the utmost of his power. The commandant in St. Thomas, colonel Malleville, also shewed himself their sincere friend. He was a regular attendant on their worship, and was not ashamed publicly to avow his connexion with the Brethren. A gentleman of distinction once speaking, in very disrespectful and slanderous terms of the missionaries, the colonel replied: "that he would avow before God and man, that he acknowledged them for his brethren, and deemed it a favor to have fellowship with them."

The unusual drought, mentioned before, lasted between three and four years, and brought many evils in its train. Sickness and famine prevailed in every quarter; and water became so scarce, that it was sold at a considerable price. Many slaves were obliged to work hard, without getting any thing to eat; great numbers consequently died from want. The missionaries did all in their power to relieve the necessitous members of their Church, and in this act of charity they were assisted by donations from our congregations in Denmark and Germany. The want of money induced several proprietors to sell their slaves to other islands, chiefly those belonging to France and Spain; whereby many Christian Negros were separated from their teachers and the fellowship of believers.

Though these distresses threw various obstacles in the way, yet the progress of the mission was not interrupted. Many new people attended the preaching of the gospel, and manifested a real hunger after the meat which endureth unto everlasting life; and in one year two hundred and forty Negros were baptized by our missionaries in the three islands.

A violent hurricane raged in the islands of St. Thomas and St. Jan on the 12th and 13th of August 1793. The damage done on the plantations, in some of which scarce a house remained standing, to the sugar-fields, and also to the shipping, was very great. Many people lost their lives. Of the missionary settlements that at BETHANY in St. Jan suffered most severely. On the morning of August the 12th, the church

fell with a tremendous crash, the broken pieces of timber being carried a considerable distance into the fields. By the mercy of God the missionary family was preserved from all personal harm, though in constant apprehension of being buried under the ruins of the house, which shook and trembled in an alarming manner.

In the year 1797 the mission was again visited by one of the directors from Europe, brother John Renatus Verbeek. During his stay at NEW-HERENHUT in St. Thomas he observed, that the increase of this congregation had not, within the last years, been so great as formerly. This apparent declension was the natural consequence of the long period, during which the gospel had been preached in this island, whereby almost every plantation was supplied with a number of Christian Negroes. The island of St. Croix, which is the largest and most populous of the three \*, still presented the widest field for missionary exertions. St. Jan, the least in natural extent, contained also a comparatively small number of converts.

Brother Leupold and his wife, together with a single sister, destined for the service of this mission, and who were sailing for St. Thomas in 1798, had on the 11th of October the misfortune to be captured by an English privateer, and carried to the island of Tortola. Here they suffered much distress, being kept five days without food, except once when they found an opportunity of buying some fish. They were left whole days without a drop of water. Their ignorance of the English language increased their difficulty, till, through the kind interference of a German captain, they obtained permission to go with another vessel to St. Thomas.

In the performance of their frequently arduous duties the missionaries made daily experience, that "the joy of the Lord was their strength." The power of the gospel evidenced itself in their converts by enabling them to "adorn the doctrine of God our Saviour" by a conduct generally consistent with their

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\* According to a rough computation, made in 1783, there were in St. Thomas six thousand, in St. Jan two thousand, and in St. Croix thirty thousand Negroes. And these numbers were probably rather diminished than increased during the late years of drought.

profession. This the more strongly attested the reality of their faith, as attempts were not wanting to seduce them from their steadfastness. Some impious masters even resorted to acts of cruelty, to tempt them to the commission of sin, and in other instances the poor creatures were most severely punished for the slightest fault ; but the grace of God enabled them to bear the one with Christian meekness and patience, and resist the other by "taking the shield of faith and the helmet of salvation." Influenced by the precepts of the Word of God they meekly submitted to the galling yoke of slavery, and not unfrequently recognized a gracious providence overruling it for the salvation of their souls. Thus an old Negro once remarked : "Though I was kidnapped in my native country, and thievishly sold, yet I feel no resentment against those who did it ; for I believe I was brought hither by the will of God ; and I cannot be sufficiently thankful to our Saviour, that he has deemed me worthy, in preference to many others, to hear his Word, by which I have learned to know the way of salvation."

M. von Malleville, hitherto commandant of St. Thomas, being appointed governor-general in 1796, fixed his residence in St. Croix, being the seat of the government. But the pleasure of the missionaries in having this sincere friend in the island, was of very short duration. October 11th he was seized with an apoplexy, and on the 22d departed this life in confident reliance on the atonement of Jesus. Agreeably to his request, his remains were interred in the burying-ground of the mission at FRIEDENSTHAL, a funeral oration having been previously delivered in the Dutch Calvinist church, (in which he had been educated) by the incumbent. All the inhabitants of these islands lost in him a man of strict probity, who made it his constant and zealous care to promote their true welfare. The missionaries in particular were deprived of a sincere and active friend, who, in close fellowship of spirit with them, grounded all his hopes for time and eternity on the merit of Christ. It must here be added, that our brethren have continued to enjoy the benevolence of succeeding governors, and in general, of all the proprietors ; and, if different

sentiments were entertained by any, they were ashamed openly to avow them

Of the growing respect for the missionaries and their labours two gratifying instances occurred about this time. In 1795 they were requested to supply the vacancy, which had occurred in the Dutch church at Christianstadt in St. Croix, by performing divine service in the same, till the arrival of the new minister in 1796. Two years later the heirs of Count Schimmelman made some regulations on their estates, by means of which the missionaries could commence a regular school with all the Negro children on those plantations. In St. Jan likewise the children were sent to EMMAUS for instruction. Their eagerness and progress in learning were highly satisfactory to their teachers.

Among those of the Christian Negros, who during this period finished their race of sorrow and suffering here below, and entered into the joy of their Lord, the aged man Benjamin deserves to be particularly mentioned. He belonged to the Mandingo tribe, his father being a Mahomedan teacher; and in this religion he had educated his son, who remained in his native country till he was more than twenty years old. On his arrival in the West Indies he instructed his countrymen in the religion of his forefathers, using every effort to propagate and maintain the Mahomedan faith. At length however he yielded to the testimony and influence of the gospel, was baptized in 1779, and in 1796 closed his earthly pilgrimage in a joyful hope of entering, not into a heaven of sensual delights, but into the true paradise of God.

Hitherto these islands had remained undisturbed by those political commotions, which during this period agitated nearly the whole of Europe, and spread terror and perplexity even to distant parts of the globe. But early in the year 1801 this tranquillity was interrupted, in consequence of hostilities having commenced between Great Britain and Denmark. In March an English fleet appeared off the coast of St. Thomas, and arrangements were made to repel force by force. The commandant, however, deeming resistance useless on account of the superior number and strength of the British, resolved to ca-

pitulate. The capitulation was signed that very evening by both parties, and early on the 19th the Fort was surrendered with the usual formalities. The islands of St. Croix and St. Jan also surrendered without resistance. Thus the effusion of human blood was happily prevented; nevertheless the mission was not wholly exempt from the burthens and troubles attendant on war. The price of provisions was greatly enhanced, the correspondence with the different settlements and with Europe was interrupted, and even their daily meetings were for a time suspended.

The establishment at FRIEDENSBURG in St. Croix felt the effects of the war most severely, the mission-house being occupied as an hospital for the British troops. Part of the missionary family went to FRIEDENSTHAL, the rest were kindly lodged on a neighbouring plantation. For some time the regular service was continued in the chapel and attended by crowded auditories; but the smell of the sick and dying becoming daily more offensive, rendered this no longer either safe or practicable. After the lapse of two months, the hospital was removed to the west end of the island.

Towards the close of the same year the mission was deprived of one of the most intelligent and useful native assistants, who for more than fifty years, had walked worthily of his calling by the gospel, namely the Negro Cornelius, who entered into rest in the year 1801. This man was in many respects distinguished among his countrymen, which will render the following brief sketch of his life interesting.

Above fifty years ago he became concerned for the salvation of his soul, and felt a strong impulse to attend the preaching of our missionaries, and their private instructions. However, he could not at once forsake his heathenish customs. It happened once that he attended a merry-making of his countrymen. Even into this house of riot the good Shepherd followed this poor straying sheep. The late brother Frederic Martin passing by, and being made attentive to the uproar, looked in at the door and immediately espied his scholar Cornelius. He beckoned to him to come out, and in a friendly, but serious and emphatic address, represented to him, that it was not be-

coming for one, who had declared, that he would give his heart to our Saviour, to attend such meetings as these. "Here," said the missionary, "the devil has his work, and you have assured me that you will not be his slave. But now I discover that your heart is still in his power, for you love the vanities of the world, and the company of the children of disobedience, in whom he rules. It would, therefore, be better that you left off coming to our meetings and to the school." This offended him greatly and he thought, "What is that to the white man, and what do I care for him?" However, his amusement was spoiled for that time; he went home much displeased, and resolved never more to visit the missionaries, or attend their meetings. But his heart was not at rest, and his convictions grew so strong that he could not sleep at night. The address of the missionary sounded continually in his ears, and made so strong an impression upon him that he altered his mind and visited him. Being received, not, as he feared, with displeasure, but with great cordiality, he was exceedingly affected, and with tears described the distress of his mind during the preceding days.

In 1749 he was baptized, and ever since remained faithful to the grace conferred on him. He had an humbling and growing sense of the depravity of his heart, but he also made daily progress in the knowledge and grace of his Lord and Saviour Jesus Christ.

God had blessed him with a good natural understanding. He had learned the business of a mason well, and had the appointment of master-mason to the royal buildings, in which employment he was esteemed by all who knew him, as a clever, upright and disinterested man. He laid the foundation of each of the six chapels, belonging to our mission in these islands. He was able to write and speak the Creol, Dutch, Danish, German and English languages; which gave him a great advantage above the other Negros. Till 1767 he was a slave in the royal plantation, which afterwards belonged to count Schimmelman. He first purchased the freedom of his wife, and then laboured hard to gain his own liberty, which, after much entreaty and the payment of a considerable ransom,

he effected. God blessed him and the work of his hands in such a manner, that he could also by degrees purchase the emancipation of his six children.

In 1754 he was appointed assistant in the mission. After his emancipation, he greatly exerted himself in the service of the Lord, especially among the people of his own colour and spent whole days, and often whole nights, in visiting them on the different plantations. He possessed a peculiar talent for expressing his ideas with great clearness, which rendered his discourses pleasing and edifying as well to white people as to Negroes. Yet he was by no means elated by the talents he possessed. His character was that of an humble servant of Christ, who thought too meanly of himself to treat others with contempt. To distribute unto the indigent and assist the feeble was the delight of his heart, and they always found in him a generous and sympathising friend and faithful adviser.

While thus zealously exerting himself in promoting the salvation of his countrymen, he did not neglect the concerns of his family. We have already seen how sedulously he cared for their temporal prosperity, in working hard to purchase their freedom. But he was more solicitous for the welfare of their souls. God blessed his instructions, and he had the joy of seeing his whole family share in the salvation of the Lord. Being found faithful, they were employed as assistants in the mission.

The infirmities of old age increasing upon him, he ardently longed to depart and be with Christ. A constant cough and pain in his side checked his great activity, caused occasional dejection of mind, and seemed at times to shake his faith and fortitude. He now and then complained of a declension of his love to the Lord Jesus; and once, while meditating on that text: "I have somewhat against thee because thou hast left thy first love," he exclaimed: "Ah! I too have left my first love!" A few days before his end, being visited by one of the missionaries, he said "I ought to have done more, and loved and served my Saviour better. Yet I firmly trust that he will receive me in mercy, for I come to him as a poor sinner, having nothing to plead but his grace and righteousness through



his blood." His children and several of his grandchildren having assembled round his bed, he addressed them in the following very solemn and impressive manner :

" I rejoice exceedingly, my dearly beloved children, to see you once more together, before my departure ; for I believe that my Lord and Saviour will soon come and take your father home to himself. You know, dear children, what my chief concern has been respecting you, as long as I was with you ; how frequently I have exhorted you not to neglect the day of grace, but to surrender yourselves with soul and body to your Redeemer, and to follow Him faithfully. Sometimes I have dealt strictly with you, in matters which I believed would bring harm to your souls, and grieve the Spirit of God, and I have exerted my parental authority to prevent mischief : but it was all done out of love to you. However, it may have happened, that I have sometimes been too severe. If this has been the case, I beg you, my dear children, to forgive me ; O forgive your poor dying father."

Here he was obliged to stop, most of the children weeping and sobbing aloud. At last one of his daughters recovered herself, and said, " We, dear father, *we* alone have cause to ask forgiveness, for we have often made your life heavy, and have been disobedient children." The rest joined in the same confession. The father then continued : " Well, my dear children, if all of you have forgiven me, then attend to my last wish and dying request. Love one another ! Do not suffer any quarrels and disputes to arise among you after my decease. No, my children," raising his voice, " love one another cordially : Let each strive to shew proofs of love to his brother or sister ; nor suffer yourselves to be tempted by any thing to become proud ; for by that you may even miss of your soul's salvation, but pray our Saviour to grant you lowly minds and humble hearts. If you follow this advice of your father, my joy will be complete, when I shall once see you all again in eternal bliss, and be able to say to our Saviour ; here, Lord, is thy poor, unworthy Cornelius and the children whom thou hast given me. I am sure our Saviour will not forsake you ; but I beseech you, do not forsake *him*." He fell gently asleep in Jesus on the

29th of November, being according to his own account eighty-four years of age.

The sovereignty of these islands being soon again ceded to the crown of Denmark, no events occurred for a series of years, either in the internal course, or the external affairs of the mission, remarkably distinguishing its history from that of preceding periods. The missionaries continued their labours with their usual activity, and had many proofs that the doctrine of "Christ crucified is the power and wisdom of God unto salvation to every true believer, whether bond or free."

During this period they were enabled to realize a wish, they had long entertained, of forming a third settlement on the island of St. Croix. This settlement, which was called FAIR-  
DENSFELD, from its central situation proved a great convenience to many old and infirm Negros, who were frequently deprived of the means of grace in consequence of the great distance of the other stations.

One of the native assistants in St. Croix, a man ninety-eight years of age, about this time finished his earthly career, rejoicing in hope of the glory hereafter to be revealed. A brief sketch of his life inserted in the Periodical Accounts\*, contains the following notices: "He lived in ignorance and the practice of heathen abominations till in his fortieth year. He was awakened by the grace of God through the testimony of our brethren, and was one of the first four Negros, who were baptized in St. Croix in the year 1744, by the late missionary Frederick Martin, who called him Nathaniel. In reference to his awakening he often used to remark: 'When I heard the *great word* spoken by the brethren, that God our Saviour so loved men, that he became a man to die for them, that they might not suffer eternal death, it was as if an arrow went through my heart. I followed the missionaries from place to place to hear more of this great word. And when no missionaries were with us, we Negros, who were of one mind, met together, and though we knew not much, yet we convers-

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\* Vol. v. p. 107.

ed of that God, who loved even the Negros, and were frequently so overcome with gratitude that we all wept, and felt an ardent desire to know the Lord and experience his grace.'

"After the decease of brother Martin, when St. Croix was left a whole year without a missionary, Nathaniel and some other assistants were the instruments employed by the Lord for carrying on the divine work, which had commenced in this island. Even in the last years of his life, he spoke with peculiar delight of the beginning of the mission, and could scarce find words to describe the grace of God, which then prevailed among the Christian Negros. 'At that time,' he would say, 'the believing Negros had to suffer much oppression and persecution. In order not to be ill treated by the white people, we never took the straight road, when we went to hear the gospel, but a circuitous rout through the woods: but the more troublesome it was to get to our place of meeting, the happier we were when we met, for the peace of God was peculiarly felt among us, and we often conversed together about the concerns of our souls till late at night.'"

In 1811 the missionary J. G. Haensel returned to St. Thomas from a visit he had made in Europe. One of the first services he performed for the dissemination of gospel knowledge, and which gave him peculiar delight, was to distribute a number of Testaments in the Spanish language to those of that nation, who frequently visit St. Thomas from Porto Rico. Concerning this distribution he remarks: "As the worthy British and Foreign Bible Society had been pleased to place that trust in me, I felt happy in having so early an opportunity of fulfilling their kind intentions. I had much enjoyment in performing this act of benevolence. The gloomy countenances of the Spaniards, which in general seem to indicate rather a sullen disposition, brightened with an expression of gratitude, of which their tears gave further evidence, and they declared their regard and love for their benefactors in the warmest terms."

The following year a breach was made in the missionary family at FRIEDENSFELD on St. Croix, the Lord permitting his faithful servant, brother Netz, to enter into eternal rest,

after having laboured in this part of his vineyard for nineteen years. His brethren speak of him as peculiarly gifted for missionary labours. His discourses were admirably adapted to the capacities of the Negroes, and instances were not wanting, which sufficiently proved, that the Lord laid a special blessing upon his testimony, which was singularly calculated to awaken sinners, and magnify salvation by grace through faith in Jesus.

The missionaries had often been excited to adore the riches of divine grace, exemplified in the salvation of the most ignorant slaves of sin. In 1815 they were proved to witness a very striking instance of this kind in the case of a Negro criminal, who was executed in St. Croix for the murder of a girl, about twelve years old, whom he had cut and mangled in the most shocking manner. His execution was fixed for the 14th of June. Two days previous to this, the Byvoight (town clerk) requested the missionaries to visit and prepare the criminal for death.

Brother Lehman immediately repaired to the prison and had an interview with the criminal, whose name was Lancaster. He found him one of the most ignorant and stupid Negroes he had ever seen. He had not even an idea of God, much less of salvation by Jesus. He showed no remorse of conscience, seemed perfectly indifferent about his soul, and evaded every charge of criminality, by alledging that he was intoxicated when he committed the murder.

This state of insensibility on the part of the culprit deeply distressed brother Lehman, the more so, as the shortness of the time previous to his execution appeared to render it a hopeless, and almost impossible, case to be of any real service to him. On representing to the Byvoight these unfavourable circumstances, he procured an order from the governor-general, by which the execution was deferred, in order to afford more frequent opportunities for instructing the criminal. The missionaries now resolved, that one of them should visit him every forenoon, and two of the assistants every afternoon.

During the second visit Lancaster appeared pensive and rather uneasy; still he could not be convinced that his inebriety,

when perpetrating the horrid deed, did not render him excusable; much less could he be made sensible, that he was by nature a corrupt creature, and must be eternally lost, unless Jesus Christ had mercy upon him, and delivered him from the power and curse of sin. This visit, however, seemed to pave the way for that grateful and astonishing change, which was afterwards wrought upon him by divine power.

At the next visit brother Lehman spoke to him in a very close and serious manner, telling him, that he was a slave of sin and of the devil, that by his works, he had not only well deserved the punishment, which the offended laws of God and man would shortly execute upon him, by depriving him of his natural life; but that his sins against Almighty God were so heinous and atrocious, that after this life he must be doomed to eternal misery, if he died in his present state. But, that Jesus Christ, the Son of God, had come into the world, and become man, that by his innocent sufferings and death, he might take upon himself the punishment, which the sins of the most guilty had deserved, thereby to reconcile us to God. During prayer all present were deeply affected and shed many tears; and even poor Lancaster began to weep bitterly.

On the 16th being asked how he had slept, he replied, he had got but little sleep, and added, "I am a miserable sinner; I have acted wickedly; I have done a great deal of evil, and now I must soon die! O what is to become of me!" The comforts of the gospel were then set before him, and he was directed to Jesus, who came to save sinners, even the chief, and who will receive all that accept of his mercy as a free and undeserved gift.

At a subsequent interview the missionary observed such a change in the criminal, as encouraged him to hope, that he would be plucked as a brand from everlasting fire. Being asked, whether he was now willing, cheerfully to leave this world and appear before the throne of God? He replied: "Yes! I am indeed frequently terrified at the thought of death, when I reflect how much evil I have done, but I immediately turn in prayer to our Saviour, and then all my desponding thoughts vanish; therefore I will pray continually to him who died for me. He will not suffer me to be lost."

A portion of the New Testament was daily read to him, especially the history of our Saviour's sufferings. This proved a rich comfort to him and wonderfully enlarged his ideas on divine subjects.

The missionaries, having consulted together on the propriety of granting his repeated application for baptism, came to the resolution, that as it was evident the Lord had heard their prayers, and opened his heart to understand and receive the gospel, they might now administer this holy ordinance to him, conformably to the command of God our Saviour. When the poor penitent was informed of this, he expressed his joy in the liveliest manner, and said: "Though I am such a bad man, yet I perceive that my Saviour will not reject me, but show mercy even unto me. Thanks be to him to all eternity."

Of this solemn transaction and the closing scene, the missionaries give the following account:

"On the 21st in the afternoon brother Lehman went to the prison. Many were already assembled, some belonging to the prison, both whites and blacks, and others who had obtained permission to be present at the solemn transaction, people from town, and many of our Negro-congregation. Lancaster's irons had been taken off, and he was sitting on a stool, perfectly clean, and dressed in white. After the singing of an hymn, brother Lehman spoke on the eleventh verse of 23d chapter of Ezekiel: "*As I live, saith the Lord, I have no pleasure in the death of the wicked;*" combined with the words of our Saviour, Matthew xi. 28. "*Come unto me, all ye that labour, and are heavy laden, and I will give you rest.*" During the discourse great silence and devout attention prevailed in the whole assembly, and when, at the conclusion, the subject was treated of in application to the state of the criminal, silent tears flowed plentifully down his cheeks. He answered the questions put to him, according to the ritual of the Brethren's Church\*, with humility and distinctness, after which

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\* The questions, here referred to, are the following:

Q. Dost thou believe that thou art a sinful creature, and hast by thy sins deserved the wrath of God, and eternal punishment?

A. I do believe it.

a fervent prayer was offered up, that the Lord would pardon and absolve this penitent sinner, give him an assurance of the remission of his sins by the blood of atonement, and cleanse him from unrighteousness in that precious fountain. Brother Lehman then baptized him in the name of the Father, Son, and Holy Ghost, and called him Thomas. The conclusion of this service was made by singing a hymn.

"Brother Lehman had now a most difficult and distressing task to perform, being commissioned to inform poor Lancaster, that the next morning he should suffer the punishment due to his crime. When informed of this, he said: 'I am ready; for my Lord Jesus Christ has forgiven me all my sins. My sins are no more there to condemn me; He has taken them away; He will not suffer me to be lost, but receive me in mercy.' He pronounced these words with such an humble voice and cheerful countenance, that all who heard him were filled with astonishment. At taking leave he earnestly besought the missionaries not to forsake him, but return to him in the morning.

"Early on the 22nd, Brother Lehman repaired to the prison, to comfort poor Thomas in his last moments, and accompany him to the place of execution. The officer on duty met him at the door, and declared, that he had never in his life been witness to such a scene; that the poor criminal had spent the whole night in prayer and exhorted other criminals, who were confined for similar offences, to repent, and confess

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Q. Dost thou believe, that Jesus Christ became man for us, and by his innocent life, blood-shedding, and death, reconciled us poor sinful creatures to God?

A. I verily believe it.

Q. Dost thou believe that He purchased for thee, by his blood and death, remission of sins, life, and happiness eternal?

A. I verily believe it.

Q. Wilt thou in this faith be baptized into the death of Jesus and be washed in His blood?

A. This is my sincere desire.

Q. Dost thou also desire to be delivered from the power of sin and Satan, and to be received into the fellowship of Jesus Christ, and of those who believe in him?

A. This is my sincere desire, and I renounce the devil and all his works and ways.

the whole truth, as God knew their hearts, and all their evil deeds ; and to cry to him for mercy.

“ As soon as brother Lehman entered the room Thomas, who was already brought thither, came up to him, and expressed his thanks for the favour conferred upon him on the preceding day, adding, that he had not slept at all during the night. Being asked the cause of this, he replied : ‘ This is my dying day, and I shall soon see my Saviour face to face. He waits to receive me.’ After some conversation and prayer, they were informed that the military were drawn up and in readiness ; upon which brother Lehman and Thomas left the prison, and entered a circle formed by the soldiers. The delinquent was without fetters, and dressed in white. The procession now moved forward through the whole length of the town, the streets being crowded with people, and the windows and roofs filled with spectators. During their whole walk, the missionary spoke comfortably to the sufferer, and exhorted him to look steadfastly to Jesus his Redeemer, who went for him to the cross, and would not forsake him in his last extremity. Thomas was still and silently repeated every word. When he had got out of the town, and could see the place of execution at some distance he seemed to shudder, and stopped for a moment ; but on being encouraged not to lose his confidence, but to keep the eyes of his faith fixed on his Saviour, who went willingly to death for him, he said, with trembling lips, ‘ O Lord Jesus ! I will likewise come ! O strengthen thou me !’

“ Having arrived at the gallows, and the master of the police having again read to him the sentence of the law, he mounted the cart. When his hands and feet were tied, brother Lehman addressed him : ‘ Thomas, for whom was Jesus bound ?’ He answered, ‘ For me.’ ‘ For whom was Jesus crucified ?’ He replied, ‘ For me ; for my sins.’ This he did with such distinctness, that it excited great astonishment. His last words were, ‘ Lord Jesus ! be merciful unto me !’ Brother Lehman added, ‘ Remember Jesus Christ, who died and rose again for you !’ During these words, he was launched into eternity.

“ The great resignation, with which Thomas went to execu-



tion, exceedingly surprised many both whites and Negros, who had formerly been acquainted with him. One of the clerks of the court called afterwards upon us, and could not sufficiently express his wonder at the change wrought in the deportment of this Negro. He related, that when he was brought into court, he behaved in the most audacious and brutal manner, and his conversation was the most scandalous and wicked ever heard. He added: But how did he afterwards pray to God for mercy; and how patiently, like a sheep to the slaughter, did he go to his death! Many, besides myself, never expected, that that would be the case with him! O how great is the benefit derived from the Christian religion \*!"

The voyage of a company of missionaries, in 1813 and 1814, was attended with peculiar hardships and dangers. They were partly destined for the mission in Greenland, and partly for that in the Danish West India islands, and all sailed from Copenhagen, in March 1813, on board the *Hualfiskén*, bound for Leith in Scotland. In the channel between Scotland and Norway they were discovered by captain Cathcart of the *Alexandria* frigate, who sent an officer on board demanding the ship's papers, and ordering the Danish captain to attend on board the frigate. To the no small consternation of himself and the passengers, the license was declared to have expired,† and all the crew were put on board the frigate, and an English lieutenant, a midshipman and twelve sailors took possession of the Danish vessel. The captain, however, was suffered to remain, an explanation having been given that the ship was certainly bound for Leith. The ship was ordered to Gothenburg, but unfavourable weather rendered all their attempts to reach that harbour ineffectual; and, after encountering several perils, they were obliged to cast anchor at Marstrand, where they were detained till the 10th of April.

Their situation was rendered peculiarly distressing, as they could not even send a letter to the Brethren's minister at Gothenburg; or to any of their friends; all intercourse with the

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\* Per. Acct. Vol. v. p. 419—426.

† The missionaries could not account for this, as the license was dated August 1812, to remain valid till October 1813. Per. Acct. Vol. v. p. 370.

land being strictly forbidden. In other respects their detention on board was rendered as comfortable as possible. Brother Ramsch (one of the missionaries going to the West Indies) remarks, "We should not do justice, if we did not bear testimony to the kind and generous conduct of all the English officers we had to do with; I might quote a variety of instances, in which they showed every readiness to make our situation as little irksome as possible.\*

While lying off Marstrand some of them were ordered to Gothenburg to undergo an examination. They were treated with much kindness, and only such questions put to them, as tended to prove the truth of the captain's report.

This unexpected occurrence so protracted the voyage to Leith, that the missionaries, destined for the West Indies, could not sail with the spring convoy. They therefore spent the summer in the Brethren's settlement at Fulnek in Yorkshire.

In November 1813 they set sail from Portsmouth; their company consisting of the brethren Ramsch and Schaerf, with their wives and two other sisters. On this voyage likewise they were exposed to imminent danger. January the 10th 1814, they were chased by an American privateer. Captain Lennon informed them, that he considered it his duty to defend himself, and immediately prepared for action; assigning a place of safety for them in the hold. A fierce engagement now commenced. The English ship mounted only six guns, with twenty-two men and boys; the American had fourteen guns and one hundred and twenty-five men. Thrice he attempted to board, but met with such steady and determined resistance from Captain Lennon, that, after a contest of more than four hours, he was obliged to sheer off with considerable damage, and the loss of several killed and wounded. The English ship had one killed and eleven wounded; the captain had his hat shot through and received several contusions.

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\* It is of importance to mention this circumstance, a report having been circulated to the contrary effect by the Danish sailors. Per. Acct. Vol. v. p. 369.

The terror of the missionaries, during the fight, may more easily be conceived than described. Their gratitude and joy were so much the greater, when they not only found they had been graciously delivered from the threatening danger, but before the close of another day, saw themselves in the midst of their brethren and sisters in St. Croix.

A month had scarce elapsed after the arrival of this company, when brother J. G. Haensel of St. Thomas entered into everlasting rest. He was sixty-four years of age; and it may be truly said of him, that he had grown grey and exhausted his strength in his endeavours to bring the heathen to the fold of the good Shepherd. He had served the missionary cause in Tranquebar and Nicobar in the East Indies, for eighteen years, and, after a short rest in Germany, he laboured for the same period in the West Indies; so that thirty-six years of his valuable life had been devoted to the glorious work of evangelizing the heathen\*.

After the departure of this faithful servant of God, the missionaries continued to preach the unsearchable riches of Christ to the Negros in St. Thomas, St. Croix, and St. Jan, and to teach their converts to observe all things whatsoever Jesus hath commanded. And the Lord blessed their labours for the conversion of the Negros, many of whom were in subsequent years added to the Church by baptism.

While thus zealously attending on their ministry, their divine Master was pleased to exercise their faith by a severe trial. Towards the end of the summer of 1817, a contagious fever prevailed in these islands, which was peculiarly fatal to Europeans, carrying off great numbers, and likewise extending its ravages to the missionary settlements. Most of the missionaries suffered from it; and in less than five weeks three brethren and two sisters, finished their earthly pilgrimage, and entered into the joy of their Lord.

This distressing intelligence was immediately communicated

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\* Some idea of the difficulties and dangers, he had to encounter in the East Indies, till that mission was suspended, may be formed by reading his *Letters on the Nicobar Islands*, addressed to the Rev. C. J. Latrobe, and published in 1812.

to the members and friends of the Brethren's Church in a circular from the directors of the missions; it every where awakened the sincerest sympathy, and all felt the truth and force of the concluding paragraph in the circular: "What shall we say? we bow with deep humility under the chastening hand of the Lord, that hand which 'wounds and which heals,' and we entreat him, that he would bless our brethren and sisters there with his divine comfort, and support them with his mighty power, that they may serve the great missionary work with the needful grace, till we are enabled to send fresh labourers to supply the places of those, who are now resting in the presence of their Lord."

## SECTION II.

### *Jamaica.*

SEVERAL respectable gentlemen in London, who possessed considerable estates in Jamaica, had with much zeal and expense supported various measures for the instruction of their Negroes in Christianity, but without any apparent success. Becoming acquainted with the Brethren and their successful labours in St. Thomas, they requested the directors of our missions to send some missionaries to instruct their slaves, adding, that it would be particularly gratifying to them if the Rev. Zacharias George Caries, whose sermons they had themselves attended with acceptance and profit, should be found willing to engage in this service.

Brother Caries readily consented, and with two other brethren, sailed for Jamaica in October 1754. On their arrival every thing favoured their undertaking. The promoters of it generously cared for their external support, and erected a house on a piece of land, given by them for the use of the mission, and which was called CARMEL. They also encouraged the Negroes to attend the preaching of the gospel, allowing them the necessary time and liberty. They came in great numbers, and, at the end of the first year, the missionaries computed

their regular hearers at about eight hundred, of whom twenty six had been baptized. Besides preaching on the three estates belonging to the promoters of the mission, brother Caries was invited by several other gentlemen to instruct their slave-negros also. He met with but little opposition from the white people, even those, who at first were rather hostile in their views, changed their sentiments almost as soon as they heard and conversed with him. Indeed they attended his sermons in such numbers (in many cases with evident blessing to themselves,) that he found it necessary to preach separately to them and the Negros.

In this prosperous state the mission continued for two or three years. There were two regular stations, namely at CARMEL and EMMAUS, and preachings were kept on three other plantations, the *Bogue, Island*, and *Mesopotamia*. The number of catechumens amounted to four hundred, and that of the baptized to seventy-seven. More labourers being now required, some brethren arrived from Europe and North America in 1757 and 1759. But differing in opinion from their predecessors, and conceiving that the Negros had been too hastily admitted to baptism, they treated them with greater strictness, and prolonged the time of the probation of the catechumens. This discouraged the poor slaves; many of them withdrew and even absented themselves from the public preaching; the harmony of the missionaries was interrupted and their zeal in the cause paralyzed. In 1759 brother Caries returned to Europe with brother Nath. Seidel, who had been sent over on a visitation, whose endeavours to revive the sinking cause were but partially successful; and several years elapsed before the mission recovered the detriment it had sustained.

Amidst these disheartening circumstances, it was an encouragement to the missionaries to find, that none of the slaves belonging to the five plantations, where they had regularly preached the gospel, were implicated in the rebellion of the Negros in 1760. On the contrary, they were often in danger of being surprised by the rebels, till the latter were driven to seek an asylum in the woods and mountains.

In 1764, and the following years, the prospect again assumed a brighter appearance. Brother Frederic Schlegel, having arrived in order to take the general superintendence of the mission, was enabled, by divine grace, to restore harmony among the missionaries, and reanimate their drooping zeal. This had the effect that those Negros, who had been formerly baptized, returned, and the smothered embers of the divine life in their souls were rekindled, so that the missionaries could employ some of them as assistants in preaching to their countrymen. By degrees the number of their hearers increased, and they found opportunities of declaring the gospel in some new places, and even of visiting the Negros, who live in the mountains. In the year 1767 one hundred and thirty-one were admitted to holy baptism, and the following year very nearly the same number.

After the decease of brother Schlegel, who entered into rest in 1770, the promising revival in this mission received a fresh check. The eagerness of the Negros to hear the gospel subsided, and even some of the baptised relapsed into paganism. It ought here to be mentioned, that the labours of the missionaries were, through necessity, almost wholly restricted to the slaves, belonging to a few plantations. In subsequent years an oppressive scarcity of provisions, and in 1778 fears of a hostile attack tended still further to impede the progress of the work.

Things remained in this languishing state for several succeeding years. Even at the BOGUE, which still presented the greatest field for usefulness, the auditory seldom consisted of more than sixty people, and never amounted to a hundred. Consequently the annual addition to the Church, by new converts from the heathen, was very small. Nothing could have encouraged the missionaries to remain at their post, but the consideration, that in the sight of God *one* human soul is of infinite value.

The insalubrity of the climate exposed them to frequent indispositions and often rendered a change of missionaries necessary. Thus brother Sam. Church, who from the year 1787 had, with great faithfulness, superintended the affairs of

this mission, found himself necessitated to return to England in 1792.

Brother Nath. Brown and his wife, on their voyage from Philadelphia to Jamaica in 1797, were captured by a French privateer off Cape Nicola Mole in St. Domingo, and carried to fort Jean Rabel. They were kept prisoners for a fortnight, but treated with great civility, and, after due examination, set at liberty and suffered to proceed. An American merchant procured them a passport from the governor, and on the 7th of August they sailed with an American brig, which was engaged as a flag of truce, and in a few hours reached the Mole. Proceeding under convoy with several vessels, they arrived at Kingston, in Jamaica, on the 4th of September. During their stay in this town they experienced much kindness from the Methodists, especially from the Rev. Mr. Fish.

The slow progress of this mission was still further impeded, about this time, by the rebellion of the Maroons (slaves, who have eloped from their masters and live in the mountains, where they occupy several villages,) and the consequent introduction of martial law. Tranquillity was disturbed, all business was at a stand, and every person obliged to bear arms. From the last, however, the missionaries were exempted; and their places of abode were at a considerable distance from the theatre of these disturbances. They were likewise preserved from those depredations and murders, which were committed by the runaway Negros in 1798. And, what more particularly excited their gratitude, was that they observed a greater attention to the gospel in many of the slaves.

About this time some gentlemen in London, who had considerable possessions in this Island, applied to the Brethren for one or more missionaries, to be sent out for the special purpose of instructing the Negros, belonging to their plantations, taking upon themselves their entire maintenance so as not to trench upon the general fund, the resources of which were barely sufficient to defray the expenses of the more promising fields, cultivated by the Brethren. In order to meet the wishes of these gentlemen, the brethren Joseph Jackson, (who was born in this island, his father having formerly laboured in this

mission) and Thos. Ellis, and their wives, went in the spring of 1800 to Jamaica. On their arrival they found most of the resident missionaries ailing. Brother Howel and his wife were gone to North America for the recovery of their health, and brother Brown, after the decease of his wife, had returned to Pennsylvania. The services of the new missionaries, therefore, were immediately needed in the old settlements; and in this they acquiesced the more readily as the requisite arrangements for their accommodation had not yet been made in those places, for which they were properly destined.

In subsequent years appearances became rather more hopeful, and the attendance of the Negros, especially at UNION and ELIM (two new stations) was encouraging. Noticing the celebration of the anniversary of this mission in 1804, it being fifty years since its commencement, our brethren remark: "Though we cannot exult over a very abundant harvest of souls, which these fifty years have produced, or even over present prospects, yet we find sufficient cause of gratitude to the Lord, for having preserved a seed in Jamaica also, which in his own good time may grow up into a rich harvest. It appears from the church register, that from the commencement of this mission to the present date nine hundred and thirty-eight Negros have been baptized."

A few years after the mission sustained a very serious loss by the departure of brother Joseph Jackson, who fell asleep in Jesus on Dec. 9th 1808, in the fortieth year of his age. The loss of such a man was the more to be deplored, as his natural and acquired endowments joined to great urbanity of manners, and fervent zeal in the Lord's service, qualified him for more extensive usefulness in the Church of the Brethren.

The time, for which the missionaries had long waited and fervently prayed, seemed now to have arrived, when the gospel would run and be glorified even in Jamaica. A greater desire was evidently excited among the Negros to become savingly acquainted with the truths of Christianity. They attended the preachings in greater numbers, and evinced more earnestness in seeking to attain a right understanding of what they heard. For the attainment of this end the missionaries found



a regulation, which they made in 1812, very useful, in meeting their people, especially the catechumens, in classes. Concerning this they remark: "It is pleasing to see the eagerness, with which the Negros come to this meeting. We are chiefly occupied with asking questions, and explaining texts of Scripture. They are all anxious that they may not come behind in proper answers, and therefore never stay away but from urgent necessity. We find that this mode of instruction makes a more lasting impression upon their minds, than a regular sermon."

Among the new people, who about this time sought for instruction in Christian doctrine, was a Mahomedan, who had come twelve miles to visit the missionary. He introduced himself by saying: "Massa, I would have you know that I want to come to you to be baptized. I am a Mahomedan, and in my country we also believe in Moses. But I think my faith is now old and not the right one; I wish to come to Jesus Christ, I have one wife, and she is of the same mind. We have prayers together; and always pray to Jesus Christ. Did we not live so far off, we should have come before now and begged you to baptize us."

October 4th 1812 a violent hurricane, followed in a few days by a smart shock of an earthquake, which continued half a minute, did very considerable damage in the island, and plunged the Negros into great distress, as all their provision-grounds were destroyed. Brother Lang, in a letter dated CARMEL, March 15th, 1813, writes: "Whenever we visit them in their huts they cry out: 'Massa, hunger kill we;' and indeed they look so lean and emaciated, that we cannot behold them without pity. It will be two months before the plantain and Indian corn become fit for use. Were it not for our coffee planters who, when coffee fell so much in price, planted plenty of a certain fruit, growing in the ground, which the storm cannot carry away, the poor people would absolutely be in danger of starving."

In June 1815 brother Ward and his wife arrived from England, having been appointed for the service of this mission. Soon after their arrival they took the charge of the instruc-

tion of the Negroes on *Island* and *Windsor* estates, and fixed on WILLIAMSFIELD as the most convenient place for their residence. On *Island* there were some baptized Negroes, the gospel having been occasionally preached there for many years, but those belonging to *Windsor* were ignorant heathen. The difference between them was striking, and appeared even in their manners and customs. The missionary soon found that his labours in these places were attended with the divine blessing. His auditories were, in general, large and very attentive, and many desired more special instruction, that they might be prepared for receiving holy baptism. The endeavours of the missionaries at CARMEL were equally successful. Brother Lang writes: "the number of our hearers is on the increase, and the preaching of the gospel evinces its power on the hearts of the Negroes, which also appears in their moral conduct. Some walk in true fellowship of spirit with our Saviour, and have received the assurance of the forgiveness of their sins; others are mourning on account of sin, and seeking salvation in Jesus. Of the latter class there are about two hundred. One sabbath lately a Negro from an estate, about fifteen miles from CARMEL, brought me a stick, marked with seven notches, each notch denoting ten Negroes, informing me that there were so many Negroes on that estate engaged in praying to the Lord. About twenty of them attend divine worship at *Peru*: they are all unbaptized, but desirous of receiving holy baptism. The awakening spreads, and we entertain hopes that our Saviour will now gather a rich harvest in Jamaica."

Of the new stations *Elim* and *Peru* were the most flourishing. The attornies and overseers on these estates, no less than the proprietors in England, promoted the endeavours of the missionaries by every means in their power. This indeed was now the case on all the plantations.

In the spring of 1816, however, some gentlemen endeavoured to obstruct the work, and for a short time intimidated the Negroes, so that the preachings were less numerously attended. Complaints were even lodged against the missionaries before the governor, but being unsupported by evidence, he was too just to condemn them without proof. And as an application on their part to be heard in their defence was not attended to,

they determined to be quiet and commit their cause to God. In a little while the storm subsided and they could undisturbedly continue their labours.

The situation at the BOGUE being, on several accounts, unfavourable for a missionary settlement, a new house and other necessary buildings were erected at a short distance from the former. To this place, which they called EDEN, the missionaries removed in the summer of 1816. Here and at the three stations of MESOPOTAMIA, CARMEL and WILLIAMSFIELD they continued their labours for the conversion of the Negros. Besides this they preached regularly on the plantations of *Elim, Peru, Union, Two-mile-wood, Island and Windsor.*

### SECTION III.

#### *Antigua.*

THE missionaries residing in St. Thomas had long directed their attention to those islands in the West Indies, which belonged to the crown of England, hoping to find means of preaching the gospel also in them. The paucity of their number, however, and the frequent deaths, which occurred among them, rendered this benevolent design abortive for a considerable time. At length, in 1756, brother Samuel Isles, who had spent eight years in St. Thomas, went to ANTIGUA. On his arrival he waited on the governor, and shewed him the act which had been passed in 1749 in favour of the Brethren. Some gentlemen patronized him, giving him permission to preach on their plantations. The following year he had the pleasure of performing the first baptismal transaction in this island on a Negro woman. In the sequel proposals were made to him for building a place of worship for the Negros. This was effected in 1761, on a piece of ground, in the town of ST. JOHN'S, bought for the purpose of forming a missionary establishment.

For several years the progress of the work was rather slow. Brother Isles and his two assistants, John Bennet and Wm.

Lister, continued to preach the gospel wherever a door was opened. On the one hand they met with no remarkable opposition, and on the other they saw no very striking effects attend their labours. Samuel Isles finished his race in 1764, having spent eight years in the service of this mission, during which period only thirty-six Negros had been baptized. His successors did not relax in their endeavours, but sowed the seed of the gospel, in hopes of a fruitful harvest at some future period, for as yet the prospect was very discouraging, their congregation in St. JOHN'S having been reduced to fourteen members, and few of the heathen shewing any inclination to attend the church.

This was the unpromising state of things when brother Brown arrived there from North America in May 1769. It pleased the Sovereign Lord of his vineyard to crown the zealous exertions of this missionary with signal success. Imbibing a measure of the spirit of his divine Master, Brown was not content with addressing the Negros in public, but followed them into their huts, and in private conversation earnestly and affectionately entreated them to attend to the things belonging to their peace. Besides performing the regular services in the town, he preached on two plantations in the country. The auditories increased; many heathen were converted, and in less than two years the baptized amounted to upwards of eighty. These invited their friends and acquaintances to go with them to church, and many, who came at first from mere curiosity, were by degrees so powerfully awakened, that they never absented themselves except in cases of the most urgent necessity.

This increase of their congregation rendered the enlargement of the chapel necessary. On this occasion the Christian Negros, in a very pleasing manner, evidenced the influence of the gospel on their minds. When they came to the meetings, on week-day evenings, each brought a few stones or other materials with him. A baptized Negro, who was a mason, with the help of a few others, did all the masonry, and others did the carpenter's work, and completed the whole building in their free hours, after their daily tasks were done. And those, who could not assist in the labour, provided victuals for the workmen.

Difficulties were not wanting. The brethren, who had hitherto assisted brother Brown, were obliged to leave the island on account of ill health, and brother Ben. Brookshaw, who arrived there in 1771, and whose qualifications for the work were of the most promising kind, was called home by the Lord the following March; and as sister Brown likewise departed this life, her husband was for several months left quite alone.

In 1772 they suffered from a calamity of a more public nature. The island was visited by a violent hurricane, which did great damage, threw down one of the houses on the mission-settlement and considerably injured the rest. By the mercy of God the chapel, in which the missionaries and many Negroes had taken refuge, remained standing.

This calamity, however, appeared to make a salutary impression on the Negroes, teaching them the importance of knowing that Lord who is "a hiding place from the wind and a covert from the tempest." A new awakening arose among the slaves, which, like a fire from the Lord, spread in every direction. The auditories at the mission-chapel increased every year; so that in 1775 the number of the stated hearers amounted to two thousand; and not a month elapsed without an addition to the Church of ten or twenty by baptism.

The missionaries therefore found it necessary, not only to erect a new and more spacious place of worship in St. JOHN'S, but also to endeavour to obtain a second establishment, in some other part of the island, in order, more especially, to accommodate those Negroes, who lived at a distance from the town. The building of the new chapel was completed in 1773, and the following year they purchased a piece of ground called BAILEY-HILL, at no great distance from the town of Falmouth, and in the neighbourhood of several plantations, on which many of their converts resided.

In 1778 a severe famine prevailed, which plunged the Negroes into the greatest distress; many were found lying quite exhausted in the fields, and not a few perished with hunger. Some managers were so cruel as to give to the cattle the food, which the proprietors had ordered for their slaves. Contagious diseases followed, and thefts and robberies became frequent,

whereby many industrious Negros lost all their little property. Under these heavy circumstances the power of divine grace was strikingly exhibited in the conduct of the Christian Negros. They not only refrained from all unlawful means of helping themselves, but bore their sufferings with exemplary patience, never resenting the injuries done them, nor taking revenge on those, who robbed them. One of them, when returning from his work in the evening, and finding that thieves had been in his house, said, with a very placid mien: "Well, they have not been able to rob me of my greatest treasure, the grace of my Saviour. They are more to be pitied than I am."

The situation of BAILEY-HILL having been found very inconvenient, on account of the great acclivity of the hill, the missionaries were glad to meet with a more convenient place at no great distance. Thither they removed in 1782, and called it GRACEHILL. Their congregations here and in St. JOHN's now amounted to two thousand and sixty-nine baptized Negros, and with the catechumens and regular hearers nearly to double that number.

The external circumstances of the mission continued rather difficult. Hard labour, sickness, famine and depredations were trials, which the Christian Negros shared in common with others. Frequent apprehensions of a hostile attack from the French, who took the island in 1782, but restored it to Britain the following year, and the necessary preparations of defence had an injurious influence. The baptized Negros were exposed to persecution and oppressive treatment, both from their heathen fellow-slaves and from some of the managers. A Negro, who accompanied his master on a voyage, was captured by the French and carried to Guadaloupe, where he suffered severe imprisonment. His Christian behaviour drew the attention of the jailor; who, on learning that the prisoner was baptized, gave him more liberty, and even promoted his return to Antigua.

One of the greatest trials the missionaries occasionally felt, was the removal of some of their converts to other islands, where they had no opportunity of hearing the gospel. In such cases, however, they had frequently the pleasure to hear that

the Christian Negroes kept together, and by prayer and mutual edification, encouraged each other to remain faithful to their baptismal engagements. By these means they often proved a blessing to their unconverted countrymen, and it occurred more than once that some of the latter, when transported to Antigua, immediately sought fellowship with our brethren.

After the restoration of peace, in 1783, the Negroes evinced a growing desire to hear the gospel. Baptismal transactions were numerous and frequent. In ST. JOHN'S sixty adults were, by this sacred rite, in one day embodied in the Church; and that congregation received, in one year, an accession of upwards of four hundred new members; and the congregation at GRACE-HILL was, within the same period, increased by more than three hundred persons. The number of apostates was comparatively small.

These very large additions rendered it necessary to celebrate the Lord's Supper in two divisions at ST. JOHN'S. For as yet the missionaries had been unsuccessful in their endeavours to obtain a piece of ground, in a convenient situation for a third settlement. To obviate, in some degree, the difficulty experienced by many of the Negroes, who lived at a considerable distance, in attending the regular service in the settlements, the missionaries preached at stated times on several adjacent plantations. This measure was in general approved by the proprietors and managers. In one place a Negro, one of the native assistants, built a chapel at his own expense, sufficiently large to accommodate four hundred hearers.

Most of the proprietors and managers were favourably disposed, and acknowledged the beneficial effects, resulting from the labours of the missionaries. The amelioration in the moral character of the slaves, redounded to the advantage of their masters, and that in a manner too obvious to be altogether overlooked. The example of the Christian Negroes was productive of good even in such as did not attend the preaching. They became ashamed of criminal excesses, and even exhorted each other to refrain from them. If any of the baptized Negroes had been guilty of a fault, the reproof of their teachers had far more effect than any corporal chastisement. This was well

known to some of the managers, who, therefore, instead of resorting to the whip, sent the offender to the missionaries. One gentleman observed: "he wished all his slaves might be truly converted, for this would render them far more honest and punctual in their work, than any punishment he could inflict."

Yet persons were not wanting, who treated the missionaries with disrespect, and, whenever they could, opposed and impeded their labour. On these occasions the poor slaves were the greatest sufferers. Once a party of white people most cruelly maltreated a Negro for no other alledged reason, than because he attended the preaching; and afterwards even forced him to give his wife fifty lashes, because she had lodged a complaint with a justice. Some proprietors and managers positively prohibited their slaves from going to church; and, in case of disobedience, inflicted severe punishment on them, and put them into the stocks. A certain gentleman used to beat his servant whenever he met her. Venturing once to ask him why he did it, his only answer was: "because you persist in going to the meetings." The slave replied: "If this be the reason, then may God bless you, sir; our Saviour hath endured far heavier sufferings for my sins than you can inflict on me." The manager on a certain plantation, had for ten years, used all possible means to seduce the slaves to sin, but not succeeding in his attempt, he was so enraged, that he one day cruelly flogged a converted Negro, because his wife would not yield to his iniquitous solicitations.

Notwithstanding these oppressions and many similar hardships, the work of the Lord prospered in an astonishing degree. The congregation of GRACEHILL increased so rapidly, that it became necessary to adopt the same measure here as in ST. JOHN'S with regard to the administration of the Lord's Supper. In 1788 the two congregations consisted of more than six thousand members. Many new doors for preaching the gospel were opened to the missionaries, who could not have done the work, had they not found useful assistants among their converts. On several occasions, when repairs of the houses and chapels became needful, the Negroes manifested their willingness and liberality in the most gratifying manner.



The building of the chapel at GRACEHILL was nearly altogether the voluntary work of the Negros, and they even raised among themselves two thirds of the sum, which was required for that part of the work which *they* could not do.

In 1790 this mission sustained a very heavy loss by the removal of brother Brown. This missionary, who for twenty-two years had laboured with indefatigable zeal in this part of the Lord's vineyard, and been instrumental in the conversion of many hundred Negros, began to feel a declension, not only of his bodily health, but also of his mental faculties. His wife likewise, besides general debility, had entirely lost her sight, and thus was incapacitated from attending to the female Negros, and from rendering any other assistance to the mission. They, therefore, retired to Bethlehem in North America. Brother Samuel Watson succeeded Brown in the superintendence of the mission; but was removed to a better world in 1792 in the 47th year of his age, after having, with exemplary faithfulness, served the cause of God in this island upwards of sixteen years. More than two thousand Europeans and Negros joined the solemnities of his funeral, as the last proof they could give, of the esteem which all ranks attached to his memory. His place was supplied by brother Henry Christian Tschirpe, hitherto minister of the Brethren's congregation in Berlin.

In the night between the 18th and 19th of August 1795, a violent hurricane, accompanied with tremendous thunder and a severe shock of an earthquake, raged and did very considerable damage in the island. The fences and out-houses in the two missionary settlements were totally destroyed, and the dwelling-houses were much injured; but the missionaries gratefully acknowledged the goodness of God in protecting them from all personal hurt.

The following year they succeeded in accomplishing the long-projected measure of forming a third settlement. They made a purchase of a small piece of ground in Old Road Town lying near the coast, and at the distance of thirteen miles from each of the two other settlements. Having repaired an old house, standing upon the premises, they used it both for a

dwelling and a meeting-room, till a regular chapel could be built. This place received the name of GRACE-BAY; and brother J. F. Reichel and his wife removing thither early in 1797, it proved a great convenience to many Negros, especially the aged and infirm. A congregation consisting of six hundred Christian Negros, who had formerly belonged to St. JOHN'S or GRACEHILL, was immediately collected, and many, who had never been at church before, now began to attend the preaching of the gospel at this station, were solidly awakened by the Spirit of God, and joined the fellowship of the believers.

Many instances, evidencing the benign influence of the gospel on the sentiments and conduct of the Christian Negros, and of the increasing esteem, entertained for the Brethren's labours by most of the planters, continued to occur. The following, selected from a number of others, will serve to corroborate this assertion.

Richard, one of the native assistants, closed his earthly pilgrimage in his ninety-ninth year. Even in that advanced age he was very lively and active, and much respected by his proprietor. A rather singular circumstance paved the way for his conversion. He and another slave once endeavoured to promote a dance, in order to keep the Negros from going to church. But this scheme was defeated, for all the rest declared "they preferred going to church." This irritated Richard and his comrade. They however, resolved to go to the meeting to see and hear for themselves; when the Lord opened their hearts, so that they both seriously attended to the things, which were spoken by the missionary.

Joseph, another Negro, who died about this time, had been baptized in the Church of England, but afterwards joined the Brethren. Having obtained his freedom, he engaged as valet to a Gentleman. His master often entered into familiar conversation with him, and once addressed him thus: "Joseph, you are a fool to be always going to GRACEHILL, for you were baptized in the English Church." The Negro replied: "I *was* a fool when I gave the clergyman money to baptize me, though he never instructed me in the doctrine of salvation; this I have

been taught in GRACEHILL. You, sir, are a great gentleman and a Christian, and yet you never go to church; but I will tell you, I would not change with you, though I am but a poor Negro. *Me* you cannot hinder from going to GRACEHILL; but I entreat you, sir, do not hinder your *slaves*."

The happy departure of a slave terminated his sufferings in this life. Being lame, and consequently useless, he had to endure extreme misery. His black brethren esteemed him highly on account of his faith and love to Jesus, and would gladly have helped him, but his unmerciful master would not permit it. He was found lying dead on a rock, and the Negroes were not allowed to make a coffin for him, even at their own expense.

Inhuman behaviour of this kind, however, became more and more rare; on the contrary the planters, in general, knew how to appreciate the worth of their Christian slaves. A gentleman, having lost a Negro of this description, requested the missionary to hold a funeral discourse for him, and with tears in his eyes added: "His equal for fidelity and every other virtue, is scarce to be found in the whole island; and if Almighty God does open the gates of heaven to *any* man, it will surely be to this old and venerable Negro."

Another gentleman once declared "I esteem and love the Brethren, because they preach the gospel in its purity, and in a truly apostolical manner. My regard for them is founded on the experience of thirty-six years. I well remember the time, when not only white people were afraid of the Negroes, but when even the latter could not trust each other, and murders were quite common. But, when the missionaries began to preach the gospel, it displayed its power, and changed the hearts of the slaves."

To the same effect another planter expressed himself, remarking, "Formerly we could hardly procure ropes enough on a Monday, for the purpose of punishing those slaves, who had committed crimes on Sunday; twenty, thirty, and even more were frequently hung; but since the gospel has been preached to them, scarcely two are hung in a whole year, and

these for the most part are strange Negros, who have not been long in the island."

In process of time the missionaries observed, with grief, that the eagerness of the Negros to hear and obey the gospel was rather declining; yet they still found abundant cause of acknowledging the goodness of God in making them the happy instruments of removing the galling fetters of sin from the heart of many a poor slave. And, though in their attendance on the means of grace, they did not always exhibit that earnestness, which their teachers so much desired; yet on Sundays and festival seasons the auditories were crowded. Thus the congregation of St. John's, on Easter Monday 1804, consisted of nearly three thousand people; and during the preceding week they had, besides their regular evening services in the chapel, held meetings on thirty-four estates in the neighbourhood of that settlement for contemplating the passion scenes of our Saviour.

Towards the close of 1802, the island was visited by a very dangerous epidemic, which chiefly affected the white inhabitants, and carried off several hundred persons. At that time, however, death did not enter the dwellings of the missionaries. But some months before they had lost one of their number, brother Luke Turner. His departure was the more afflictive to his fellow-labourers, as he was still in the prime of life, and had been only two years on the island. But in that short period he had given sufficient proofs of his zeal in the Lord's service, and by his modest and unassuming character gained the esteem and love of all who knew him. The physician, with tears in his eyes, bore testimony to this. Addressing one of the brethren he said: "For these many months, sir, we have not lost one white patient. However, your friend is best prepared for it, though he cannot speak. His very countenance shews the peace of his heart and the rest of his soul. He will be rewarded in heaven. Look at his Christian composure, his end will be as his life, easy and mild. I pity you, that you should lose a man of such a character."

The first months of the year 1805 were a period of much anxiety, as an invasion from the French was almost daily ex-

pected. The presence of their fleet in these seas kept the inhabitants constantly on the alert. The colony was under martial law, and all business at a stand. On March the 10th the town of St. JOHN's was suddenly thrown into the utmost consternation, and people were flying in all directions, a report being circulated that the enemy had landed on Johnson's point, and were marching to the town. This fortunately proved a false alarm; and the island was preserved in peace.

In 1808 a trial of a more private nature, but truly distressing to the cause in which they were engaged, befel the missionaries. Nearly all of them suffered from severe illnesses, and that much about the same time, which rendered the duty of those, who remained tolerably well, doubly arduous, and, if the Lord had not made their strength equal to their day, the regular service of their numerous congregations must have been still more interrupted than it was. On this occasion brother J. C. Schnepf closed his useful life; and brother Sautter and his wife went to North America, for the recovery of his health. Through the mercy of God the change of air proved beneficial, and they returned the following year.

It had long been the wish of the missionaries to commence a regular school with the children, but their state of servitude had hitherto put an insurmountable barrier in the way. All they could do, therefore, consisted in holding a separate meeting with the children on Sundays, and occasionally also on other days. These meetings were frequently attended by several hundreds, and even by a thousand young people. On these occasions the missionaries adopted the catechetical mode of instruction, giving them texts of Scripture and short hymns to learn, which they repeated at the next meeting. The prejudices, entertained by most planters, against the Negroes learning to read, which had always been the most formidable impediment, began gradually to subside. The missionaries gladly availed themselves of this favourable change, and in 1810 commenced a regular *Sunday School* at St. JOHN's, adopting the Lancasterian method of instruction. They were kindly assisted by a worthy young man, belonging to the Methodist Society.

The school was opened on the 3rd of June with eighty scholars, but their number in a short time increased to seven hundred. The parents of the children, no less than the children themselves, received this instruction with joy and gratitude. The progress of the latter both surprized and delighted their teachers. They remark, that the Negros evinced a great regard and love for the Word of God, and used to steal time from their hours of rest to learn to read, in order to peruse the holy Scriptures. This rendered the present of Bibles and Testaments, sent to them by the worthy British and Foreign Bible Society, doubly valuable.

At GRACEHILL, where the duties of the missionaries in preaching in the chapel and on several plantations left them no time on the Lord's day for keeping school, they endeavoured to obviate this disadvantage in some measure, by devoting one day in the week to the instruction of the young. The school commenced on the estate of Mr. G. a gentleman who had always shewn himself a zealous promoter of the intellectual and moral improvement of his Negros. It began with sixty scholars, who attended three hours in the forenoon, and the same time in the afternoon.

The situation of GRACE-BAY being rather unhealthy, the missionaries made a purchase of a small estate on the *Manchinzel* hill, to which they removed in 1811. The congregation belonging to that place, including the catechumens and children, then consisted of twelve hundred and sixteen persons.

Very early in the morning of October 1, 1812, the missionaries were roused from sleep by tremendous gusts of wind, the prelude to a hurricane, which raged with unabating violence for several hours, accompanied with heavy thunder and vivid lightning, and a smart shock of an earthquake. Considerable damage was done to the fences, out-houses, and roofs of the three settlements. Happily, however, the chapels and dwelling-houses remained standing, and none of the missionary family suffered any personal injury. The whole year was a very heavy period. Owing to the dryness of the season and the war with America, provisions rose to an exorbitant price; and Indian corn, the common food of the Negros, was scarcely to

be procured at any price. Famine and disease prevailed among whites and blacks. More than two hundred of the congregation at ST. JOHN'S finished their earthly career.

But, amidst all difficulties, the faith and courage of the missionaries were sustained and animated by repeated proofs that God, not only cared for their temporal wants, but most graciously prospered their exertions for the conversion of the Negroes. If at times they found cause to lament over the lukewarmness, and even the actual apostacy of some of their people, their joy was so much the greater, when, through the faithful care of the good Shepherd, some of these strayed sheep returned to the fold. Among these was the Negro Mich. Burke, who had been baptised in 1794, but some years afterwards left the fellowship of believers. At length, after many wanderings, he came back to the missionaries and, having given satisfactory evidence of true repentance and a real change of mind, was re-admitted to the congregation in the beginning of 1812. Now he could not find words to bemoan his wicked conduct, or to extol the mercy of our Saviour in again awakening him from the sleep of sin, and not suffering him to be eternally lost. On one occasion he said: "Oh! how much happiness have I lost, which I cannot now regain. Through the tender mercy of the good Shepherd I am brought back to the fold, and plucked as a brand out of the burning, but I have lost much. Tell my brethren and sisters to take warning by me, and not to depart from our Saviour and his people, but hold fast the grace which they have received. O tell every one from me, to hold fast what they have got." About midsummer he departed this life, relying on the grace of God in Christ Jesus.

A few weeks later, Stephen, one of their most useful native assistants, likewise exchanged this mortal state for immortality. He was greatly beloved by his countrymen, whose lamentations were almost unbounded; but checking themselves they said: "We must submit to the will of God. *He* gave him and *He* has taken him." The missionaries give the following character of him:

"Stephen was of a very warm and positive turn of mind. But when his natural disposition was softened and sanctified by

the grace of God, it became an auxiliary in the service. His fearlessness and decision in declaring his opinion made him a warm and powerful advocate in the cause of truth. Few Negroes possessed such proper gifts and qualifications for exhorting, as he did. He was well acquainted with the depravity of the human heart, and how it concealed, or showed itself, in a Negro. He could, therefore, speak of it much to the purpose, and lay open the secret springs of evil, in a manner intelligible to a Negro. But the subject, in which his heart and tongue were most alive, was the sufferings and death of our Saviour for the deliverance and salvation of sinners. Here all the energies of his mind seemed to be called forth, and engaged in extolling the love of Jesus in giving Himself up to such agonies of soul and body, to make an atonement for the sins of men. On such occasions, although he had great fluency of speech, the fervour of his mind, and the quickness of thought, were sometimes almost too much for the slow process of articulation. He was esteemed by his master as a faithful and upright servant, and was frequently employed by him in the place of a white man as deputy-overseer. Both his master, therefore, and the congregation at GRACEHILL lost in him a useful servant. But he was more; for he was a servant of God, and as such was called to enter into the joy his Lord. His age was 74 years\*."

Pursuant to some regulations, made in consequence of the abolition of the slave trade, no Negroes from Africa were permitted to be sold; but those, who were captured on board Spanish and Portuguese ships, and brought to the island, were distributed on the estates in order to learn trades, and after fourteen years' service to be declared free. Our brethren in St. JOHN'S received four girls of this description in 1814, engaging themselves, by proper indentures, to care for them and have them instructed in female work, and in the Christian religion during the stipulated term of years.

No event of general interest marked the progress of this mission in subsequent years. At the close of this period, in



1817, the missionaries continued their labours under evident tokens of the divine blessing. The colonial government pressingly requested the establishment of a fourth missionary station, and for this purpose, by a regular deed of conveyance, secured to the missionaries of the Brethren's Church ten acres of land, and presented them with a sum of money from the colonial treasury, towards the erection of the necessary buildings. The proprietors of the neighbouring plantations, being desirous, that their Negros should hear the gospel, in the most handsome manner, lent their assistance; so that hopes were entertained, that the buildings would be habitable by the end of the year. This promising field requiring an additional number of labourers, the brethren Thos. Ellis and J. Taylor, and their wives, sailed for the West Indies in the spring of 1818:

A letter, written some years before by the missionary, Joseph Newby, describes the general eagerness of the Negros to hear the gospel, and the blessing, with which the Lord crowns the endeavours of his servants, in so pleasing and unaffected a manner, that a few extracts from it will supply a very appropriate conclusion to this section. After referring to the services of Good-friday and mentioning that the missionaries were gone to preach on several estates, the writer proceeds thus: "As I sat in my room, having a good view of the roads leading from different plantations, I could see the people running in companies at various distances; and as it occurs with persons, when they are in eager haste after any thing, from which they expect much pleasure, one may see the bent of the mind in the attitude of the body; so it was here. They took every short cut, the young and stout passing before the lame and infirm, and the latter pressing on with all their might, stretching their heads and arms forward, every effort bespeaking the eagerness of their very souls, to be present at a place, where they might hear the marvellous history, how Jesus, the Son of God, gave himself a sacrifice for sinners.

"When I considered that many, if not all, of these poor people, had now in the middle and heat of the day thrown down their hoes, left their noon's morsel, and foregone their

little rest, of which they stood so much in need for the support of their bodies under hard labour, I broke out almost involuntarily in this ejaculation: 'O Lord Jesus! feed these poor hungry souls with the precious word of thy sufferings and death. O enable thy poor, unworthy servant to give them their meat in due season!'

"Reflecting on this subject, which I did with humble gratitude to our gracious Lord and Saviour, I thought, what is it that makes these poor Negros, who by nature are lazy, sensual, devilish, and who by being long accustomed to wallow in sin without controul, are far alienated from God, so eager to hear the simple testimony of Jesus' sufferings and death, that they readily forego some of the first and most powerful calls of nature, such as rest and the satisfying of hunger, while the same subject is, to one part of the civilized world, foolishness, and to another, a rock of offence. I was not long left in suspense, how to solve this question. It is the Lord and his Spirit, that hath opened their hearts; and, therefore, as it was in the days of His flesh, while the proud and self-righteous Pharisee hated and despised Jesus and his doctrine, and the worldling could spare no time from his earthly pursuits, to attend to *him*, who came from heaven to give us everlasting riches; we are repeatedly told, that *the common people heard him gladly*. Thus it is in our day."\*

#### SECTION. IV.

##### *Barbadoes.*

THE island, to which, in the order of time, the Brethren next directed their attention, was BARBADOES. Two brethren went thither in 1765; but one of them departed this life almost immediately, and the other withdrew from their connexion. A third, who was sent to supply the place of the first, in a short time followed him into eternity. Thus the

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\* Per. Acct. Vol. v. p. 434.

undertaking was suspended till 1767, when brother Benjamin Brukshaw, a native of Cheshire, resolved to go thither by himself, and renew the mission. He arrived in the island in May, and immediately waited on the President of the council and the resident clergy, all of whom approved of his design, and wished him God's blessing for his labours. These he began at *Bridgetown*, preaching to the Negroes and visiting them on their plantations. Many proprietors favoured the undertaking, encouraged their slaves to hear the gospel, and attended themselves.

In August brother J. Bennet came from North America to assist in the work. As the number of their hearers was constantly increasing, they purchased a small house and fitted it up both for dwellings and a meeting-place. The Negroes, not only attended divine service on the Lord's-day, but frequently visited the missionaries during the week; so that they were often employed from morning till night. The gospel found entrance into the hearts of some, and on the 10th of September 1768 a Negro woman was baptized, being the first fruits of this mission. Soon after five others were added to the Church by this holy ordinance. Many planters, perceiving the good effects following the labours of the missionaries, invited them to preach on their estates.

This encouraging prospect, however, did not long continue. It soon appeared, that many Negroes had attended the preaching from mere curiosity; these, therefore, as soon as the novelty ceased, intermitted their attendance. Among the few stated hearers little of vital godliness was to be discovered; so that the missionaries found little freedom to admit any to baptism.

After the removal of brother Brukshaw, who in 1771 went to Antigua, and the decease of brother Bennet in 1772, the mission was involved in very distressing circumstances. Pecuniary and other difficulties oppressed it from without, and dissensions among the missionaries themselves disturbed its internal peace, and injured the work in which they were engaged. At length only one missionary was left on the island and thus, neither the public preaching of the gospel, nor the instruction of the few baptized and the catechumens, could be properly attended to.

The following year brother John Angerman arrived and renewed the work with zeal and courage, and not wholly without success; but he finished his earthly career in 1775. His fellow-labourer continued, amidst many difficulties, to sow the seed of the Word, in hopes of a plentiful harvest at some future period, for as yet the prospect was far from encouraging.

About this time the brethren occupied two stations. Brother Meder and his wife lived in a hired house near BRIDGETOWN, and another missionary and his wife, together with an unmarried brother, resided in the mission-house in the parish of St. THOMAS. In both these places they suffered severely from the hurricane, which raged in October 1780. Their houses and out-buildings in both places were thrown down. In vain did they seek an asylum in other houses, for they shared the same fate. With the utmost difficulty they escaped being buried under the ruins, and were obliged to weather the storm in the open air, without shelter of any kind, and lost nearly all their provisions and property. The mission was thus thrown into new difficulties.\*

No very promising change took place for several subsequent years. Few Negroes, except those who had formerly been baptized, and who did not exceed twenty in number, attended the preaching. They were indeed ready enough to *assent* to the truth of what the missionaries told them; but secret enmity to the gospel lurked in their hearts, and they appeared to be in an awful manner under the influence of the power of darkness. The planters also, with few exceptions, now changed their opinion and disapproved of their slaves becoming Christians.

In the year 1790 the prospect became more cheering. The auditories increased, and sometimes amounted to a hundred and fifty: a small number indeed, when compared with the crowded congregations in Antigua and the Danish West India islands; but in Barbadoes even *this* increase was hailed with feelings of joy and gratitude. Their zeal and hope were still more enlivened by observing the saving power of the gospel in several

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\* The hurricane lasted twenty-four hours. Trees and plantations were destroyed; churches and many houses thrown down; and several thousand persons lost their lives.

heathen Negros, who were admitted to baptism, and the consistent conduct of those who had long been members of the Church. By degrees more of the planters became favourably disposed towards the mission, and it was treated with respect by the government.

The situation of the mission-house in the parish of St. THOMAS had long been considered as an obstacle to the prosperity of the mission. For some years the dwellings of our brethren had been in a ruinous condition, and the situation was unhealthy, as there was no proper road leading to it, and inconvenient, as the members of the congregation resided mostly at a considerable distance. Measures were, therefore, taken in 1794 to obtain a new place for their residence. This was accomplished by the purchase of a small estate, containing four acres of ground, with a large house upon it. In July brother Hofeman and his wife moved thither, and the other missionaries soon followed. They found it a very eligible situation, being in the midst of populous estates, and much nearer to the town than their former residence. They called it SHARON.

Brother Hodgson and his wife, who had for some time served the mission in St. Kitt's, receiving in 1797 an appointment to Barbadoes, on their way to that island from Antigua, must have been lost at sea, as no intelligence was ever received, either of them, or of their fellow-passengers on board the packet, in which they sailed.

The following year brother Waller and his wife and sister Mary Grant, on their passage from Bristol to Barbadoes, suffered shipwreck off Kinsale in Ireland, the vessel striking on a rock, about two hundred yards from the shore. They were for four hours in constant fear of being swallowed up by the waves, till, by the ebbing of the tide, they found it practicable to reach the land. Scarcely, however, had they escaped the fury of the water, when a gang of robbers, with knives and hatchets, rushed upon the whole ship's company, threatening their lives, and plundering the wreck. Fortunately a party of soldiers at that instant made their appearance, and fired upon the depredators, by which five of them were killed. During this horrid scene the passengers effected their escape, but could

save nothing of their property, except the clothes they had on. The ship was entirely lost. The Methodist minister at Kinsale, and several members of his congregation, shewed the missionaries much kindness, and supplied them with the needful articles of clothing. In January 1799 they sailed in a vessel from Cork, and had a very pleasant and expeditious voyage to Barbadoes.\*

Since the building of the new chapel at SHARON the missionaries had in general pretty large and attentive auditories, and a gradual increase to the number of baptized, which in 1800 amounted to upwards of one hundred and sixty. In succeeding years no change of any moment occurred in this mission. Compared with the labours of our missionaries in other islands, their exertions here were crowned with little success; but knowing, that "their judgment was with the Lord and their reward with their God," and considering the value of one human soul, if gained for Christ by the preaching of the gospel; they were encouraged to proceed in the path of duty.

In 1812 an event occurred, which threw all the inhabitants of the island into the utmost consternation, and which was occasioned by the eruption of mount Soufriere. The reader will find an interesting account of this phenomenon, as far as its effects were felt in Barbadoes, in the following letter, written by brother Ganson, one of the missionaries:

"Having had no rain for a long time, April 30th in the evening, about ten o'clock, the sky looked extremely dark, and we expected heavy rain in the night, which being much wanted, created great joy. However, on May 1st, early in the morning, a most extraordinary and awful phenomenon presented itself, to the great alarm of all the inhabitants. At day-break about five o'clock, the horizon to the south appeared remarkably light. At six thick clouds had covered the whole sky, from whence issued, not indeed the long expected fruitful rain, but showers of a substance resembling dust, or ashes, but which were particles of volcanic matter. It now grew so excessively dark, that the like had never been seen nor heard of be-

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\* Per. Acct. Vol. ii. p. 248.

fore. It reminded me of that awful darkness, when all nature seemed to shudder, and the sun hid his face at the expiration of the Son of God upon the cross. In this state of awful uncertainty, we looked up to our Almighty Father and Preserver, and he filled our hearts with peace. At seven o'clock our whole family was called together, and, during a solemn feeling of our helplessness, we exhorted each other to faith and trust in God our Redeemer, offered up fervent prayer for ourselves and our fellow-men, and were richly comforted by a sense of his divine presence. This inexplicable and utter darkness continued till about half-past twelve o'clock. About one, a little light from the sun's rays appeared, to the great comfort of every human being in the island. About three o'clock many Negros from far and near, assembled together in our church, forming a large congregation, to whom a discourse was delivered on the text, "The works of his hands are verity and judgment; all his commandments are sure." Psalm cxi. 7. concluded with fervent prayer.

"So great was the consternation of all the inhabitants, that the large church of Bridgetown was, on this awful day so crowded, as hardly to contain the people, who with lanterns in their hands, at eleven o'clock in the forenoon, took refuge in the house of prayer. The fall of dust lay about three or four inches thick on even ground, and we have been troubled with clouds of it, raised by the high winds, which have prevailed since that day. We have as yet had no rain, so that every thing is dried up; the poor cattle have nothing to eat, and to all appearance both man and beast will have much to suffer. All kinds of provisions are extremely dear.

"May 6th a member of assembly from St. Vincent arrived here applying for succour. Our legislature met, and resolved to send a vessel with provisions, to the amount of 2000*l*. which, considering the lamentable state in which this island is now left, was a noble proof of their humanity and fellow-feeling. May the Lord grant these remarkable events to be productive of good fruit in our hearts, that we may not only be alarmed at his judgments, but be in truth converted to him, in whom

though earth and heaven be dissolved, his children shall have eternal rest and peace\*."

By the protecting hand of God the missionaries were preserved from harm during the insurrection of the slaves, which broke out in April 1816, but was suppressed by a strong military force. They had the satisfaction to find, that none of the Negros, belonging to their Church, had joined the rebels in their excesses and violence.

They experienced another merciful preservation during the hurricane, which in October 1817, raged with great violence in St. Lucia and other adjacent islands; for though several ships were stranded in the roads of Barbadoes, no damage was done in the island.

The conversion of the Negros continued in general in the same gradual and less striking manner, which has all along characterized the progress of this mission.

## SECTION V.

### *St. Kitt's.*

THE missionaries of the Brethren in Antigua had received repeated invitations to extend their labours to the adjacent island of St. Kitt's.† Mr. Gardiner, who had a great number of Negros on his estates, in a very urgent manner expressed his desire for their instruction in the truths of Christianity. In compliance with these wishes, the directors of the missions in 1777 dispatched the brethren Birby and Gottwald, with their wives, to St. Kitt's.

On their arrival they hired a house in the town of BASSETTERE. Here, and on one of Mr. Gardiner's estates, they regularly preached to the Negros, who attended in considerable numbers, and by degrees several of them, becoming obedient to the doctrine of Christ, were added to the Church by

\* Per Acct. Vol. v. p. 240.

† St. Kitt's is the name given to this island in the Reports of the missionary; English geographers call it St. Christopher.



baptism. They also visited on some other plantations, and their testimony of Jesus did not remain unfruitful. Their undertaking was countenanced by most of the planters; and even during the attack and consequent capture of the island by the French in 1782, they neither received any personal injury, nor were molested in their missionary labours; on the contrary the French commander assured them of his favour and protection.

The seed of the Word, sown in this island, was less rapid in its growth than in some other places, for in 1784 the converts scarcely exceeded forty; but the fruit was generally abiding and exhibited a pleasing degree of maturity. The temporal condition of the Negros was in many respects superior to the circumstances of the slaves in other islands. Among the converts were several free persons, and others were possessed of considerable property and very decent habitations.

In 1785 the missionaries purchased a small piece of ground, on which they erected the needful buildings. Hereby they were provided with greater conveniences for serving the Negros with the Word and ordinances of the gospel. The number of their hearers and converts increased. This gradually excited observation, and stimulated others to similar exertions. The clergyman in the town held lectures to the Negros twice in the week, and the Methodist preachers laboured with their accustomed activity. This, though it lessened the auditories of our missionaries, did not diminish the number of their converts. On the contrary, they increased so much in a few years, that it was found necessary to build a larger chapel. This was completed in 1789, the Christian Negros not only assisting in the work by manual labour, but also aiding it by pecuniary contributions. On the day of the solemn opening of this new place of worship, eighteen persons were baptized, and three, who had belonged to other denominations, were admitted members of the Brethren's Church. The baptized amounted to two hundred and seventy-nine, besides eighty catechumens.

A fire from the Lord was now kindled in this mission, which continued to burn in subsequent years, so that the number of those, who from the heart believed in our Saviour, was con-

stantly increasing, and in a few years amounted to upwards of two thousand and five hundred. The chapel was crowded with attentive hearers, even on week days ; and on the Lord's day, large companies were standing outside and devoutly listening to the words of eternal life. Many Negros came from a considerable distance, and the overseers and managers encouraged the attendance of their slaves. The missionaries themselves diligently itinerated through the country, preaching on several estates ; and this, no doubt, was one great cause of the success which rewarded their labours. The eagerness of the Negros to be instructed was well accounted for by one of them in the following simple manner. His master asked him, why the Negros went so often to the chapel of the Brethren, as their masters never attended divine service but on Sundays ; the slave replied, " Aye, you, sir, have the Bible, which you may read as often as you please ; we poor Negros have not this treasure ; and we have long led very wicked lives ; but now God hath sent teachers to us, from whom we learn what our Saviour has suffered for sinners ; and that he is willing to forgive our sins. Do you not think, sir, that this is a great benefit conferred on us, and that it ought to make our souls hunger after it ? "

In 1792 the missionaries were thrown into some perplexity, happily however of short duration, by the following circumstance. They had employed, as one of their assistants, a mulatto, Thomas Gordon, who had received a little instruction in the common branches of learning. On his return from England, where he had been several times before, a suspicion was excited, that he had been implicated in the insurrection of the well known Lord Gordon, to whose family he was allied, and that he had brought insurrectionary proclamations to the island. On strict investigation, however, his complete innocence of the crime laid to his charge, was most satisfactorily proved.

During the night, preceding Easter Sunday in 1792, the town of BASSETERRE was visited by a dreadful inundation. Many houses were swept away, and several lives lost. The missionaries were mercifully preserved, though their premises sustained considerable injury, and only two members of the

congregation were drowned. Their chapel was the only place of worship fit for the performance of divine service.

A hurricane, which raged in August the following year, caused great destruction on their premises. It was next to a miracle that their dwelling-house was not totally demolished. The missionary family took refuge in the chapel, and, though all the spouts were blown down and the building itself cracked several times, as if crushed by some immense weight falling upon it, they sustained no bodily injury.

Amidst these outward distresses the work of the Lord prospered. Divine service at BASSETERRE was often attended by very crowded auditories ; and doors for preaching to the Negroes were opened to the missionaries on fifty plantations. At the close of 1794 the members of their congregation were one thousand four hundred and ninety-eight ; and by the end of 1800 this number was increased to two thousand five hundred and sixty-nine.

In consequence of the contest between Great Britain and France provisions rose to an exorbitant price, which often reduced the Negroes to extreme want. And as the island was frequently threatened with hostile invasion, it was in 1803, found necessary to enrol a *black corps* to assist in its defence. The missionaries observed with deep regret, that the new mode of life, thus introduced among the Negroes, had an injurious influence on their spiritual course, and they neglected no seasonable opportunity for exhorting their converts to prayer and watchfulness, and steadfast reliance on God, their almighty Saviour.

The threatened invasion was mercifully averted for some time ; but in March 1805 the enemy put his threats into execution. On the 5th of that month a French fleet, consisting of ten sail, hove in sight, and came into the road of BASSETERRE. This spread universal consternation through the town, and most of the inhabitants fled into the country. Our brethren however remained ; and such was the confidence, which their fellow citizens reposed in them, that many brought their most valuable property to them for security, and some even sought shelter for themselves in the church. The French General

Balbot fixed his head quarters in their neighbourhood, and stationed a guard of four men and a corporal at the entrance of the burying ground.

Finding resistance would be vain, the council deputed some gentlemen to the French Admiral and General, in order to capitulate. The terms of capitulation were in a short time agreed upon, and the enemy left the island after levying a contribution, burning five ships and a sloop, spiking the cannons, and demolishing the powder-magazines. Thus, by the mercy of God, tranquillity was restored in a few days, and our brethren, without having suffered any injury, could resume their missionary employments without fear or interruption\*. Towards the close of the year 1806, brother C. F. Richter and his wife and brother Eusebius Williams arrived in St. Kitt's, in order to strengthen the hands of the old missionaries. But the Lord was pleased to remove the latter into eternal rest before the termination of another year. He died rather suddenly on the 12th of December 1807, having the day before been seized with a paralytic affection, which lamed his right arm and both feet, and deprived him of the power of speech. His fellow-missionaries severely lamented their loss of him, for his amiable and affectionate disposition had procured him the esteem and love of all who knew him, and during the short period, in which he served this mission, he had manifested an earnest desire and an ever wakeful zeal to promote the conversion of the Negros, and their true welfare for time and eternity.

In 1813 the mission sustained another loss by the removal of brother Geo. Ch. Schneller to England. Being in his 73rd year, increasing infirmities induced him to retire from active service. He had spent thirty years in labouring for the conversion of the Negros, namely, five years in Antigua, and twenty-five in St. Kitt's. After his return to Europe, he resided at the Brethren's settlement of Fairfield, near Manchester, where he finished his earthly pilgrimage and entered into the joy of his Lord on September 15th 1814. His brethren delineate his qualifications as a missionary in the following terms:

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\* Per. Acct. Vol. iii. p. 398—395.

“His inoffensive, unblameable deportment, and amiable and upright character procured for him the esteem of all ranks, from the President to the meanest slave. In all his transactions it was evident, that he had a single eye to the glory of God, and the prosperity of the important work, in which he was employed. His diligence and faithful attention to every part of his charge were most exemplary; and while, by his affability and kindness, he gained the love and confidence of the Negros, he maintained that respect among them, which was due to his station, and gave weight to his admonitions, and to the exercise of proper discipline in the Church\*.”

For some years no striking occurrences marked the progress of this mission: those, who laboured in it, attended with persevering zeal to the instruction of the Negros in the faith and practice of Christianity; and the vacancies, occasioned by the removal of some into the land of pure delights, were soon supplied by other devoted servants of God, who accounted it an honour to “preach unto the gentiles the unsearchable riches of Christ.” Their testimony did not return unto them void. In every year some believed, and were added to the Church by baptism; and others finished their earthly career in hope of the glory of God, a hope grounded on their having in truth embraced the doctrine of Christ and his atonement.

From the reports the missionaries give of later years, it appears, that their congregation rather diminished in number; a circumstance which probably was, in part at least, owing to the increasing exertions of other Christian denominations in the same noble work, and cannot, therefore, be considered as a real declension of religion in this island.

The history of the missionary labours of the United Brethren in the West Indies furnishes an incontrovertible evidence of the truth and excellence of the gospel. Here we not only behold the darkness of pagan superstition dispersed by the rays of divine light, emanating from the sun of righteousness, and the devotees of idolatry and vice made willing to exchange

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\* Per. Acct. Vol. v. p. 164.

the demoralizing system of a false religion for one, which, besides the spiritual and eternal blessings it confers on its true votaries, promises to elevate their character even in this world, and impart to them the comforts of civilized society ; but we find persons in the lowest state of servitude eagerly embracing the doctrine of the gospel, and boldly confessing it before men, though that very confession often served only to rivet their chains, and to add cruel sufferings to their slavery.

Surely that doctrine must be of God, which thus wonderfully influences the minds of the Negros, and while it inspires those, who believe it, with the hope of eternal felicity in a future life, enables them cheerfully to submit to all the hardships of a state of bondage, and even to rejoice in their slavery, as the means of making them acquainted with true *freedom*, the freedom of the soul from the fetters of sin. Were it possible to find an excuse for the traffic in human blood, the Christian would doubtless find it in this, that a mysterious but merciful providence hath over-ruled it for the salvation of hundreds and thousands, who having come out of much tribulation, and washed their robes, and made them white in the blood of the Lamb, will one day join in the celestial song of praise to *him, who was sent to proclaim liberty to the captives, and the opening of the prison to them that are bound.*

## CHAP. VI.

### MISSION IN SOUTH AFRICA.

THE missionary settlements of the United Brethren in this quarter of the world lie on its southern extremity, in the colony of the CAPE OF GOOD HOPE. It is a territory of very considerable extent, containing several ridges of high and steep mountains and barren tracts of land, diversified by fruitful valleys and fine pasture-grounds, and intersected by several large and rapid rivers, which, during the rainy season, are greatly swollen, and often cause destructive inundations. Lying in a southern latitude, the seasons of the year are exactly contrary to ours : so that it is winter at the Cape when we have summer in Europe.

In 1669 the Dutch took possession of this country, and, excepting an interval of a few years during the late war, retained the sovereignty over it, till after the restoration of peace in 1814, when it was finally ceded to England. After the Dutch had made themselves masters of it, they established several colonies, which also served for military stations, or posts, occupied by inferior magistrates. In order to promote the cultivation of the land, it was let to European colonists, on paying a certain impost to government. These settlers, being mostly farmers, took possession of the fruitful districts, and by degrees drove the original inhabitants into the mountains and barren parts of the country. The only town of note is Capetown, lying below the Table and Lion mountains, and contiguous to Table bay. It is a place of considerable importance, and chiefly inhabited by Europeans.

The *Hottentots*, or original inhabitants, are a pastoral tribe, and consequently lead a roving life ; for they never plant, or cultivate the ground ; their riches consisting solely in oxen,

cows and sheep. Their chief food is milk and boiled meat, to which they occasionally add some wild roots, either raw or boiled. Their dwellings are low, round huts, terminating in a point at the top. They are covered with skins and mats, and skins are likewise spread on the ground. The opening, left for a door, is so low, that a person must creep into it. A number of huts standing together, is called a *Kraal*, and is generally built in a circular form. They mostly appoint one of the inhabitants to be the captain or chief in each *Kraal*.

The Hottentots are generally low in stature; have, like the Negroes, pouting lips, flat noses and black hair; the colour of their skin resembling copper. Their clothing consists of a sheep skin hanging loosely over their shoulders, and another tied round the waist. The former they take off when at work. Both men and women carry a bag, made of the entire skin of a Gazelle, on their backs, which contains their tobacco, pipe, tinder box, &c. They are of a phlegmatic disposition, naturally inclined to indolence, and often spend whole days in sitting or lying on the ground, either in smoking tobacco, or sleeping. They have no divine worship, and few if any, religious ceremonies. They are however, said to observe an annual festival on the day when the *Seven Stars* appear, which happens at the beginning of summer. As soon as they become visible the parents wake their children and take them into the field, to shew them the stars. All the inhabitants of the *Kraal* then meet together to dance and sing. They sing words to the following effect: "O Sita, (or Toiqua,) thou father over our heads, give us rain, that all our fruits may ripen, and we may have food in plenty. Grant us a good year, that we may not be obliged to rob the white people, nor they to come and kill us."\* In their savage state they appear a very stupid race, almost void of the power of reflection and reason: without any knowledge of divine subjects, but a vague notion, that there is one great Lord of all, and likewise an evil spirit, or devil. On the latter, however, they do not seem afraid. They are remarkable for honesty; and never touch the property of others,



though constantly lying within their reach. If they find any thing, which has been lost, they faithfully restore it to the owner, and it is an extremely rare case, that a Hottentot, however strongly tempted by the pinchings of hunger, becomes guilty of theft. Formerly the education of their children was very severe, and they never suffered those of both sexes to mix together, except at festivities; and even then the elder boys and girls were committed to the care of some respectable old matrons. Their veneration for aged people was great. Persons guilty of adultery, or fornication, were either killed or banished; and various means were used to preserve morality. Their want of cleanliness, arising from their clothing and mode of living, is very offensive to Europeans.

After the Dutch had taken possession of the country many Hottentots were hired as servants by the colonists, or farmers, who frequently treated them in a very oppressive manner, and, instead of bestowing any pains on their moral improvement, seemed rather resolved to perpetuate their degradation. But, since British law has been introduced in the country the Hottentots have been relieved from the oppressive yoke of servitude, under which they formerly groaned. Most of the farmers have imbibed more liberal principles; and the blessing, which God has given to their instruction in Christianity, has shown, that they are neither beyond the reach of divine mercy, nor incapable of acquiring habits of industry, and improvement in moral character.

The *Bosjemans* form another tribe of pagans, inhabiting this country. This tribe lives beyond the Snow mountains in the Pampus hills, several hundred miles in the interior. They are properly descendants of the *tame* Hottentots, (i. e. those who live among the farmers,) and are a much more numerous tribe. By the cruel treatment of the colonists, who hunted them like wild beasts, often murdering hundreds at a time, they were driven into the woods and mountains. When pinched by hunger, they, in their turn attack the farmers, and drive away their cattle. A Bosjeman, a son of their King, who became a convert to Christianity, and lived at GNADENTHAL, once gave the missionaries the following account of his nation:

“ The power of their King is absolute, and he exercises an uncontrolled right over the very lives of his subjects. They suffer no stranger to live among them ; and if any of their people go away and become Christians they dare not return, as in that case they are sure of being murdered. They are divided into various clans or hordes, each of which obeys the oldest man as its chief, but these are subordinate to the king. They live chiefly by plunder. Formerly they, as well as all the other Hottentots, were a quiet and well-disposed people, but being deprived of their land and robbed of their cattle by the Europeans, they became, in their turn, savage and given to plunder. They perform a kind of religious worship to two rocks ; the one representing a male and the other a female. When going out to hunt they implore the aid of these pretended deities, to provide them with food. First they go to the male rock and strike against it with a stick. If it sounds, they believe the report is heard in heaven, and that they will have success. But if they get nothing, they repair to the female rock, of which they pretend, that it is inhabited by a malicious spirit, and beat it well, upbraiding it, saying : “ Why do you, ‘ by your hidden arms, cause all the game to be shot dead, so ‘ that we can find none.’ If they have succeeded they extol the virtues of these stone gods.”

A third heathen nation in South Africa, of whom some have embraced the gospel, are the *Caffres*. They inhabit the territory beyond the Great Fish River, which divides it from the country of the Hottentots. They are tall and well proportioned ; their skin is jet black, their eyes large and their teeth very white. They dress in skins, and decorate themselves with rings, corals, &c. Their huts are more convenient than those of the Hottentots, and their land more fertile ; and they apply themselves with greater industry to the cultivation of their fields and gardens. Regarding their religious notions, a Caffre woman residing at GNADENTHAL once related the following : “ We know there is a God by his great works, and we worship him. In a thunder-storm, if the lightning strikes into any place near a Kraal, all the Caffres put away the clothes they have on, wash themselves, and dress in their cleanest clothes.

Then the oldest man erects a high pole on the spot where the lightning struck. On this pole all present hang their corals and other ornaments. Those, who possess cattle, bring one or more fat oxen, and offer them as a burnt-offering. The people sit in silence round the fire till the whole is consumed." A company of Caffres, who once visited BAVIAN'S KLOOF, when they had finished their dinner, rose up, and, forming a circle, began to sing, (first lifting up their eyes to heaven, and during the latter part looking down.) The import of the hymn was, that they first praised God, as the dispenser of every good gift; and then thanked their friends for their kindness.

Besides these, some individuals of the *Damra*, *Namaqua* and *Tambukky* nations have settled with the missionaries, and become obedient to the gospel. All these nations live in the interior, at a distance of one or two thousand miles from Cape-town.

The usual mode of travelling in this country is, either on horseback, or in a waggon, mostly drawn by oxen, who are sure-footed in crossing the mountains, which are frequently very steep, abounding in precipices, and without proper roads. Great expedition, therefore, is not to be expected, especially as they have often to ford deep and dangerous rivers. They seldom, even with twelve or sixteen oxen to a waggon, travel more than thirty miles a day. When there are no rivers, they generally travel twelve hours without stopping to bait. With horses, even up and down hill, if the ascent be not too long and steep, they will drive and ride in full gallop, and as far again in a day as with oxen. Every waggon is accompanied by a Hottentot boy, who leads the first pair of oxen, and when crossing a river he must proceed though the water should reach his shoulders. This hard duty they perform day and night, without being, to appearance, much fatigued. The driver sits upon the waggon, and makes use of a whip, which from the handle to the end of the lash, is upwards of forty feet long, he uses both hands to wield it, and does it with such dexterity, as exactly to hit the beast he aims at. The following extract from the journal of one of the missionaries, will give some idea of this mode of travelling:

"We set off with two waggons, each drawn by twelve oxen. Having travelled through the night, and passed through *Bolter* river early in the morning, we halted and sent our oxen to graze. We kindled a fire, got breakfast, and afterwards had some sleep in the waggon. When we awoke all our oxen were gone, and, though we made an immediate search, we did not find them till in the afternoon. About four o'clock we proceeded. We dreaded the ascent of a mountain, called *Hohenneck* (high ridge,) and by the time we had reached its foot, our cattle could hardly crawl. This mountain is very steep and rocky, and it takes up about an hour and a half to walk to the summit. We had not ascended half a mile, when the oxen stood still, and we were obliged to unharness them, and put twenty fresh ones to the waggon. As the jolting was intolerable I walked forward; but when I had reached the top, I perceived the waggon did not follow, and found that it was jammed in between the rocks. Having with much difficulty disengaged it, we reached the summit about seven in the evening. At two o'clock next morning we arrived at *Palmite* river, and soon after at *Hottentot Holland's Kloof*. The road over this mountain resembles a steep, rugged range of steps; but, with the help of twenty fresh oxen, we gained the summit at four o'clock. We walked down the steep descent. The wind was piercing and so violent, that to avoid being blown down, we were obliged to hold one another fast. Having arrived at the foot, I sat down to rest in a cave. The descending waggon exhibited a very singular appearance, the hind wheels, being locked, grated with such force against the hard rock, that a stream of fire issued beneath them."

Nearly all the Hottentots, residing among the farmers, and even many in the interior, understanding more or less of the Dutch language, the missionaries perform divine service in that language, and teach it in the schools.

SOME pious gentlemen in Amsterdam having applied to the Brethren, to send a missionary to the Cape of Good Hope, for the purpose of instructing the Hottentots in Christianity, bro-George Schmidt, a man of great zeal and courage, and who had

evinced his faith and constancy in Bohemia, during six years' imprisonment for his bold confession of the gospel, was found willing to begin this Mission. On his arrival in Amsterdam he presented a petition to the Burgomaster and the court of Directors of the East India Company, requesting leave to go to the colony. They admitted his petition and appointed some clergymen to examine him. These, at first endeavoured to dissuade him from the undertaking; but when they found him firm to his purpose, and determined to venture in the name and strength of the Lord, they put no further impediments in his way, and wished him God's blessing. In a few weeks he received the final answer from the court of directors, permitting him to take his passage on board one of their ships; and besides the necessary passport, one of them gave him letters of recommendation to both the Governors at the Cape.

After much delay and a tedious passage he arrived at Capetown on the 9th of July 1737, and, without loss of time, waited on the Governors. One of them, Mr. von Kerbel, received him with great kindness, inviting him to visit him without ceremony.

In a few weeks he removed into the country, and fixed his residence at a place about seventy miles from Capetown. Here he erected a small hut and laid out a garden. Besides a corporal, who was sent to this place to procure provisions for the soldiers, brother Schmidt was accompanied by two Hottentots, Africo and Kibbodo. But as it was intimated to him that he lived too near the Company's Post, he removed the following spring to a desert place on Sergeant's river.

He was followed by eighteen Hottentots, one of whom he took to live with him in his hut. Their number gradually increased: every morning and evening they met for religious worship, Africo acting as interpreter. Finding their language very difficult, he taught them Dutch, and commenced school with Africo's children. Many other parents likewise sent their children, so that, in a short time, he had from thirty to fifty scholars. The blessing of God evidently rested on his labours. He was respected and beloved by the Hottentots, who attentively listened to his discourses, which reached their consciences, and

some were roused from the sleep of sin, and led to a saving knowledge of the gospel. This was particularly manifest in Willem, the Hottentot who lived with him. Being once asked by the missionary, how he felt disposed towards our Saviour? he replied: "If all my countrymen were to forsake him, yet I would not go away; for with *him* is life. I know that I am not yet what I ought to be; but I will nevertheless abide with Jesus, and will not cease praying to him, till I experience the full power of his precious blood to change my heart." In the sequel this man became a very useful assistant to brother Schmidt, who, on his return from a visit in Capetown, whither Willem had accompanied him in March 1742, baptized him in a small rivulet. Some time after three men and two women were admitted to this holy rite; and the number of those, who regularly attended his ministry, amounted to forty seven.

The circumstances of the mission requiring that brother Schmidt should pay a visit to Europe, he left the Cape in October 1743, and sailed for Holland, having previously made over his house and garden to one of the baptized Hottentots, called Christian.

The adversaries of the Brethren, both in the colony and in the mother-country, under pretence of zeal for the purity of the doctrine and the peace of the Church, opposed the return of the missionary. The repeated requests of the Brethren to be heard in their defence were disregarded, and though some ministers and other friends in Holland interested themselves in their behalf, their influence was insufficient to procure the countenance of the leading members in the Church and the East India Company.

The directors of the missions, however, never lost sight of this promising field; but all their endeavours, for many years proved unsuccessful. These failures were the more distressing, as they occasionally received intelligence of the anxiety, with which the Hottentots were waiting for the return of their beloved teacher, and of the good impressions, made on their minds by his instructions, which they manifested by meeting together for the purpose of edifying each other by the Word of God.

At length, towards the close of the eighteenth century, various circumstances occurred to pave the way for the renewal of the mission in South Africa. The doctrine and discipline of the Brethren's Church had become better known, many respectable persons, both among the clergy and laity, espoused their cause; and while the opposers of the mission obstructed the work, its friends collected liberal sums towards its accomplishment and grew more earnest and persevering in their supplications to God for its success; and they finally prevailed. The Brethren having laid a petition before the directors of the East India Company, it was very favourably received, and their request to form a missionary establishment in the territory of the Cape was granted. Among those persons of rank, whose influence had no inconsiderable share in promoting the wish of the Brethren, the name of Temmink ought to be recorded. He was President of the Board of Directors, and throughout the whole transaction approved himself a sincere friend of the Brethren.

The transactions with the East India Company having been brought to this pleasing issue; the directors of the missions lost no time in adopting the requisite measures for renewing the labours of the Brethren for the conversion of the Hottentots. Three brethren were found willing to engage in this undertaking, Henry Marsveld, Daniel Schwinn and John Christian Kuehnel. They were mechanics, and thus qualified for those labours, which, at the commencement of a mission, are rendered absolutely necessary; yet they were not defective either in soundness of understanding, or in piety, and were zealously devoted to the cause in which they had embarked. They arrived at Capetown towards the end of November 1792, almost fifty years after the late George Schmidt had left this Country.

In Cape-town they became acquainted with many pious friends, who sincerely rejoiced at their arrival, and gave glory to God, that he had thus opened a door for the introduction of the gospel among the Hottentots. The governor, on whom they waited almost as soon as they had arrived, likewise received them with great condescension, wishing them God's blessing for their undertaking, and promising his protection and assistance.

Having been directed to put themselves under the protection of Baas Teunis\* during their journey into the interior; they had to wait some weeks for his arrival. Under his superintendence they commenced their journey on the 20th of December, in a waggon drawn by twelve oxen, and on the 24th arrived at BAVIAN'S KLOOF (baboon's glen,) about one hundred and twenty miles east of Cape-town. This place had been pointed out to them, by the governor and other friends, as the most suitable for a missionary settlement. It was the very spot, in which the first missionary, Geo. Schmidt, had resided. They found a piece of the wall of his habitation still standing, and likewise several fruit-trees, which he had planted in his garden, among which they particularly noticed a large pear-tree, under the shade of which they held their meetings for worship, till their new house was completed. Fragments of other walls were discernible here and there, being the ruins of the cottages, built by the Hottentots round the habitation of their former teacher.

Those Hottentots, who still remembered brother Schmidt, or had heard of his exertions for the good of their nation, welcomed them with great cordiality, expressing their joy, that teachers were again come to instruct them in the Word of God. Among them was old Helena, who had been baptized by him, and was now upwards of eighty years of age, and almost blind. She still remembered her former teacher, but had nearly forgotten all he had taught her. She brought a Dutch New Testament, which he had given her, and which she had carefully preserved in a leather bag, wrapped in two sheep-skins. On showing it to the missionaries, she opened one of the gospels and read the history of our Saviour's nativity. By frequent intercourse with them her recollection of the instructions, she had formerly received, revived; and, fixing her abode at BA-

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\* Baas is a title of office and signifies overseer, or inspector of an extensive district. In this capacity Mr. Teunis exercised a legal authority, not only over the Hottentots, but also over the farmers in that district, to which the missionaries were going, and he had received orders from government to protect them against any molestation or encroachments, and to provide them with every thing requisite for their establishment.



VIAN'S KLOOF, she spent her latter years in comfort and peace, and, amidst great weakness and many bodily sufferings, exhibited the character of a true child of God. She was well known in the country, and respected by many persons of distinction. Most of the English officers, who visited the settlement, called to see her, and she declared to all, both high and low, her faith in our Saviour, and her ardent desire to depart and be with Christ. She fell asleep in Jesus on the 2nd of January, 1800, having probably attained the age of nearly a hundred years.

Other Hottentots, however, appeared rather suspicious of the missionaries. One man, being asked, whether he had heard, that teachers were come to instruct the natives, answered: "Yes, we have heard it; some of our men have told us, that people are come to teach us, and that they will treat us very kindly in the beginning; but, if we listen to them, more will come, and make us slaves and transport us to Batavia." Baas Teunis, who was present replied: "Government has sent these men to instruct you, and, if you are willing to learn, to teach you what is good and bad, and baptize you. Then you will be Christians as well as the farmers, and they dare not hurt you. The Governor loves you, and has therefore sent teachers to you, charging me to bring them to you. If they were not good men he would not have recommended them to me, nor would I have brought them to you."

While their own house was building the missionaries resided with Baas Teunis, who treated them with much civility and kindness. Here they became acquainted with a great many of the farmers in that district, and had an opportunity of discovering the sentiments generally entertained respecting the mission. Though opinions were various, yet it soon appeared, that many were not well-disposed towards the undertaking. Several Hottentots had declared, that they would no longer work for the farmers, but go to the missionaries to receive instruction. This exasperated the farmers, and they tried every means in their power to obstruct the work. The missionaries, however, had the countenance of government, of which they received fresh assurances while at Baas Teunis's. On the 26th

of December the Landdrost, (or chief justice,) of Stellenbosch, paid them a visit, informing them that the government at the Cape had sent a circular to all the Landdrosts and veldcornets, inferior police officers, requiring them to exert their authority, in case any of the farmers should prevent the Hottentots, who wished it, from receiving religious instruction; adding, that as he was the chief magistrate in that district, he would exert his authority to redress their grievances, as far as lay in his power. As an additional security, they received a copy of the resolutions adopted by the council of Police, in favour of the mission\*.

Their house being so far finished, that they could inhabit one of the rooms, they moved into it on February 2nd, 1793. They now informed the Hottentots, that they would shortly begin a school, both for adults and children, and instruct them in reading. This school was opened on the 4th of March with twenty-four adults, whose number was shortly increased to upwards of forty, besides above thirty children. They attended very regularly, and showed great eagerness to learn. The missionaries also held a meeting every evening, in which they read and explained a lesson out of the Bible. The reverential stillness, with which the Hottentots attended

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\* This document, dated December the 18th, 1794, among others, contained the following. Resolutions:—"The governor reported, that he had endeavoured to procure the necessary permission for the missionaries to settle at Bavian's Kloof, and in this view laid their request before the General Company's directors, who had ordered, that not only their request should be granted but that all the resolutions made by the honourable board of Seventeen, and inserted in their rescript in behalf of the missionaries, should be perpetually adhered to.—Resolved, That in order to comply with the above gracious order, the missionaries are permitted to go to Bavian's Kloof,—to preach the gospel to the Hottentots—And that they may obtain the aim of their mission, they shall not in any wise be molested in the place of their residence, and the Landdrost of Stellenbosch is hereby directed to give orders to the Feldwacht-maister (inferior district officer,) that no injury shall be done them, either in their persons or property, or in their avocations, but that every one shall endeavour to promote their safety, and give them all due assistance. Resolved, finally, that directions be given to Martin Teunis, Baas of the Company's post, Soete Melks Valley, in whose company the missionaries travel, to take steps that they may be received by the colonists in a respectful manner, and provided with all necessaries." Per. Acct. Vol. 1. p. 290.

these meetings, the eagerness with which they listened to the discourse, and the emotion visible in their countenances, the more astonished the missionaries, as they had been told, they would find it impossible to fix the attention of their hearers, even to the shortest address, if of a serious nature. The work was evidently the Lord's own doing. A report had spread far and wide, that God had sent teachers to the Hottentots to instruct them in the way of salvation, and that those, who neglected the due improvement of these instructions, would render themselves liable to be severely punished by God.

Perceiving in some of their hearers clear evidences of conviction of sin and a desire to live to the Lord, and forsake their pagan superstitions and sinful practices, they gave them more particular instruction in the doctrines of the gospel, in order to prepare them for the reception of holy baptism. A woman was the first Hottentot admitted to this sacred rite, and the solemn act was performed on the 31st of July, 1793, in the presence of seventy-eight persons. Before the end of the year the number of the baptized amounted to seven. Concerning these baptismal transactions, our brethren remark:—"We cannot find words to express the powerful sensation of the grace of God, which prevailed on these occasions, and the impression made on those who were present. These days were truly festival days to us. The Hottentots were visibly affected, and declared their earnest desire to be made partakers of the same grace."

The missionaries had frequent opportunities of witnessing the salutary influence of the gospel on the minds and conduct of their hearers, in arousing them from the sleep of sin, and disposing them to conform to the plain precepts of the New Testament. This evidenced itself even in things of comparatively minor importance, and concerning which they had hitherto refrained from giving them any particular admonitions. Passionately fond as they are of dancing, as soon as they fixed their residence in the settlement, they voluntarily and entirely relinquished this amusement, and with the same willingness of mind they abolished the feasting and other foolish customs used at funerals. They even considered it a duty, when they

had occasion to take a journey, or be absent from the settlement, to inform the missionaries of it, in order to obtain their consent and advice.

Pleasing and animating as these occurrences were, various difficulties, and even dangers, were for a while permitted to exercise the faith of our brethren and the friends of the mission. In the beginning of May they were alarmed by rumours of insurrectionary movements among the colonists, originating in a project for new imposts. But, as government soon after withdrew this measure, tranquillity was again restored. Scarce, however, had their fears in this respect been allayed, when more serious dangers threatened the colony, the inhabitants of Cape-town being in continual fear of a hostile attack from the French. In order to be in some degree prepared all the men, capable of bearing arms, were ordered to the town. This order extended likewise to the Hottentots, who were settled at BAVIAN'S KLOOF; which was thus drained of nearly all its male inhabitants. This circumstance accounts for it, that none but females were baptized by the missionaries during the first year of their abode in the country.

The men, on leaving the settlement, were in fervent prayer commended to God, and exhorted to remember the instructions they had received. It gave their teachers great satisfaction to learn, that Mr. Van Silk, who kept a school in Cape-town, had kindly interested himself for the Hottentots belonging to BAVIAN'S KLOOF. Having left their own at home, he had given them Spelling-books, and though they were stationed at the distance of three miles from the town, he visited them every saturday for the purpose of instructing them in the truths of the gospel.

The absence of the men from the settlement threw their wives and children into great distress. Some lived almost entirely on wild honey, which they found in hollow trees in the mountains\*. Their distress at length rose to such a pitch, that

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\* A certain bird, (called by Dr. Sparrmann, *Cuculus indicator*, and in Dutch, *Honigwijzer*, i. e. *Honey-guide*;) serves them as a guide to find the honey. The missionaries were once eye-witnesses of this. A Hottentot, having given a loud whistle, a bird of this species made his appearance, and hopped from

some were wholly destitute of food. In this extremity they obtained some relief by the rights of hospitality, universally observed among the Hottentots; and, through the interference of Baas Teunis, five of the men towards the end of July came home on furlough; and at the close of the year most of the men were at home for some weeks. Government also assisted them by sending money and flour for the most indigent, and ordering a quantity of corn to be sown for those, who were on duty in Cape-town.

More distressing than the difficulties just related were the impediments, thrown in the way of the mission by its adversaries. The reins of government having come into the hands of other men, the mission no longer enjoyed the same degree of favour and protection as at the beginning. In June 1793, a farmer in the neighbourhood would not suffer the Hottentots of BAVIAN'S KLOOF to plough the land on the opposite side of Sergeant's river. In this case, however, the Landdrost decided in their favour, giving them permission to till the land, for about one and a half square miles, on either side of the river. A similar attempt to circumscribe the limits of the land, belonging to the settlement, was made by a veldcornet in 1794; and the missionaries found considerable difficulty in obtaining the security they sought against future encroachments of this kind. Finding the Landdrost of Stellenbosch unwilling, or unable, to redress the grievances of which they complained, brother Marsveld was obliged to go to Cape-town, and solicit the interposition of government. The Commandant Rhenius, and Colonel Gordon, (a Dutch officer) received him with their wonted kindness, and promised to befriend the mission to the utmost of their power. The newly appointed commissioners likewise treated him with civility, promising an alteration of

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tree to tree, till he alighted on one, where he remained and continued chirping. This served the Hottentot as a sign. He climbed up the tree with a firebrand in his hand, the smoke of which drove away the bees: and thus he could gather the honey. The little that is left, is the share of the bird. This search, however, is not without danger; for sometimes, instead of honey, a wolf is found in the hollow of the tree. It is, therefore, advisable to be armed with a gun on these occasions.

the projected measure ; but brother Marsveld could not prevail on them to furnish him with a written document, which might legally secure the possession of the land, hitherto occupied by the mission. They insisted, that the verbal assurances, given to the Brethren by the former commissioners, were sufficiently clear and decisive with respect to the occupancy of BAVIAN'S KLOOF. This in some measure tranquillized their minds.

Their perplexity, however, did not terminate here. The rapid increase of their hearers and scholars rendered the erection of a chapel absolutely needful. At first, every thing seemed to favour the projected undertaking. Their friends proffered them pecuniary aid, and Baas Teunis promised to give them timber, and to encourage the Hottentots to assist in building. In a short time, however, he retracted his promise, alleging as a reason, that a change was contemplated regarding the post he had hitherto occupied under government, on which account he could not promote the building of their intended chapel, and must advise them to defer its execution. Not discouraged by this unexpected answer, they again applied to him for his interference and assistance, but found him resolute in his opposition. He even told them, they must relinquish every idea of building a chapel, till they had obtained another place for a settlement. An application to the Governor proved equally unsuccessful ; and he would not even allow them to build a temporary shed, to serve as a place of worship.

The sudden change in the sentiments and behaviour of Baas Teunis, who had hitherto always treated them with every mark of friendship, combined with several other unpleasant circumstances, seemed to require, that one of the missionaries should go to Cape-town. This duty devolved upon brother Schwinn, who set out from BAVIAN'S KLOOF towards the end of September. On his arrival in Cape-town he waited upon the Governor, and represented to him the perplexity into which the missionaries had been thrown, in consequence of a rumour, widely circulated through the country, that they would be ordered to quit their present settlement. The answer of the Governor, though tranquillizing for the time, left them still in uncertainty as to the future. He said : " the Brethren must

retain their present place of abode, which was given them by the commissaries general, and no alteration would be made till after their return from Batavia. The Directors of the company had permitted them to settle in a place, where there was no Christian congregation; agreeably to this, they ought properly to move to the confines of Caffraria," &c. When brother Schwinn represented the necessity of building a chapel, the Governor replied: "He could not allow this; things must remain as he had found them; if they built a church, it would be objected to, as being done in a place, where there was a Christian congregation." He advised them to engage in their missionary calling with as little observation as possible, adding "there was no alternative; for the Brethren had many enemies; and if it had not been for his interposition, they would long ago have been expelled the territory, and sent to the Caffres." From these and other observations it was sufficiently evident, that fear of greater evils induced the Governor to make some concessions to the adversaries of the mission. Subsequent events showed, that his fears were not groundless.\*

Not long after brother Schwinn's return from Cape-town, new obstacles impeded the progress of the mission. The hostility of the farmers rose in proportion to the eagerness, with which the Hottentots attended to the gospel. The cause of this hostility must be sought for in that worldly principle, which, while men are more intent upon their temporal gain, than solicitous to obtain eternal riches, generally influences them in their opposition to the gospel. They conceived their temporal interest to be threatened by the removal of so many Hottentots to BAYAN'S KLOOF, especially as some had declared, that they would no longer work for the farmers, but go

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\* On his journey to Cape-town brother Schwinn experienced the ill-will of some of the colonists. Contrary to the established usage of hospitality, and in defiance of the order of government, some farmers refused to lodge and entertain him. In consequence of this unkind treatment, he was obliged, one night, to ride, attended by only one Hottentot, through a desert part of the country, which was a place of rendezvous for run-away slaves, who committed frequent depredations and murders on travellers.

to the missionaries to be instructed in Christianity. Irritated by this the colonists used every artifice to prevent the instruction of the Hottentots; endeavouring, at first, to alienate their affections from their teachers by the grossest misrepresentations; and, when this failed, by disseminating the foulest calumnies against the Brethren. They reported, that they taught the Hottentots to steal, to murder; and commit other enormities; they even went so far as to declare: "If the Moravians come here to convert the Hottentots, they ought immediately to be put to death." When they could not obtain their end, either by force or artifice, they brought various, but unfounded, complaints against them before government. The chief of these complaints was, that the Hottentots at BAVIAN'S KLOOF kept more cattle, than could be fed on the land belonging to the settlement.

Baas Teunis, who of late had evinced symptoms of an unfavourable change in his disposition towards the mission, came to BAVIAN'S KLOOF on December 7th 1795, and, having ordered all those Hottentots, who had come from a distance, to appear before him, commanded them in the name of the Commissary, to drive back their cattle to their former place of abode, and only retain such a number in the settlement as was necessary for immediate consumption. At the same time he informed the missionaries, that they must receive no Hottentot into the settlement, who had served a farmer, unless he brought a certificate from his master, that the term of his servitude had expired. This order, in fact, amounted to a prohibition to receive *any* Hottentots, for very few farmers would be willing to give them such a certificate. Besides it contradicted his former declaration, that they were not bound to inquire of any Hottentot, whether he had eloped from his master, or not, for government had ordered, that no Hottentots should be forcibly detained, who wished to go to BAVIAN'S KLOOF. The Hottentots, though they were threatened with having their cattle taken from them, were not hasty in obeying this order. Their only reply was, "should this be the case, yet we will not go away, for we have come hither for the purpose of hearing the Word of God."



Not to neglect any thing on their part, which might tend to avert the impending ruin of the mission, brother Marsveld and several Hottentots went to Cape-town in January 1795, for the purpose of appealing to government, and of obtaining, if possible, a revocation of this order. But their endeavours were not only ineffectual; but they had the additional mortification to find, that Baas Teunis had himself been the principal promoter of the above measure. This threw the missionaries into the greatest consternation; but by the kind interposition of some friends, they were speedily relieved from their perplexity. In February they received a visit from Mr. Clude of Constantia and some other gentlemen. They inquired minutely into all the circumstances of the settlement; and, on their return to Cape-town, succeeded in convincing the members of the government of the falsehood of the complaints made by the farmers, as the land at BAVIAN'S KLOOF could maintain at least five hundred oxen. The result was, that the order for the removal of the Hottentots was soon after revoked. Mr. Clude, chiefly with a view to the safety of the missionaries, purchased a piece of land adjoining the settlement, as its former possessor was a decided enemy.

Amidst these external troubles the progress of the mission, as to its principal object, pleasingly demonstrated, that "when the Lord will work, none can let it." The preaching of the gospel was not only attended by numerous hearers, but displayed its power in convincing them of sin and the necessity of a Saviour. Many Hottentots visited the missionaries, to disclose to them the feelings of their souls, and seek comfort and advice.

The schools, both for adults and children, continued with little intermission; and the number of scholars increased so fast, that in a short time it amounted to two hundred; which necessitated them to keep it, for the most part, in the open air, under the shade of the before-mentioned large pear tree. Their teachers considered themselves amply rewarded by the eagerness with which the Hottentots attended to the instruction they received; and the Lord laid a particular blessing upon their catechization in the doctrines of Scripture.

In February 1794 an epidemical billious disorder prevailed in the country. Twenty-two Hottentots, residing in or near BAVIAN'S KLOOF, died in consequence of it. In visiting the patients, the missionaries in several instances witnessed the converting and saving power of the gospel.

Notwithstanding the impediments, which their adversaries threw in the way of those Hottentots, who manifested a desire to be instructed, their number was constantly increasing. Many came from a considerable distance, bringing their families and their cattle with them, and would not be denied permission to stay in the settlement. Others, being terrified by the calumnies widely circulated by the farmers, first paid a visit to BAVIAN'S KLOOF, to see and hear for themselves; and being soon convinced of the untruth of the evil reports, propagated respecting the Brethren, returned home to fetch their wives and children, and were generally accompanied by others, who likewise desired to be instructed. In removing from their former abodes they were sometimes obliged to make no small sacrifices, and to encounter various difficulties and dangers. A Hottentot, whose term of service with a farmer had expired, setting out for BAVIAN'S KLOOF, was pursued by three armed men, sent by the farmer, who threatened to shoot him, and forced him to return and serve another year. Others scarce ventured to ask for their wages, and were obliged to leave their cattle, to get away. Another Hottentot, finding his master determined to retain him, addressed him thus: "If Baas, (master) will answer for my soul, then I will stay." The conscience of the farmer was touched, and he replied, "I cannot answer for my own soul, much less for that of another." Hereupon he not only dismissed him from his service, but even gave him a certificate.

The eagerness of the Hottentots to hear the gospel rapidly increased the number of inhabitants at BAVIAN'S KLOOF; yet the missionaries did not act precipitately in admitting them to the privileges of Christian communion; wishing first to discover in the catechumens abiding evidences of repentance and faith in the Lord Jesus. And this accounts for the compara-

tively small number of their congregation, which, at the close of 1798, consisted only of sixty-five members.

BAVIAN'S KLOOF was frequently visited by the colonists and other persons, who sometimes arrived in large parties. On the one hand, these visits were attended with no small inconvenience and expense, as the rights of hospitality, universally introduced in the whole country, often obliged the missionaries to entertain numerous guests, and hindered them in the prosecution of their proper calling. On the other hand, however, they served to diffuse a more correct and just idea of the principles and conduct of the Brethren, and to falsify the calumnies circulated respecting them. By this means the missionaries likewise became acquainted, and united in brotherly love, with many sincere Christians and servants of God, who took a cordial interest in their work, and rejoiced in its pleasing progress.

The tranquillity, now enjoyed at BAVIAN'S KLOOF, did not last long. The animosity of some of the farmers against the mission appeared again, and assumed a more menacing aspect; and very alarming reports were spread through the country. In June 1795 intelligence was brought, that a company of farmers, or colonists, from Strangfield, intended to march to BAVIAN'S KLOOF, to take the missionaries and send them to Batavia, as the surest way of reducing the Hottentots to their former state. This exceedingly terrified these poor people, and they expressed their astonishment at the composure of their teachers; but being reminded, that no evil could befall them without the will of God, their courage was, in some measure, revived.

Soon, however, the appearance of things became more serious. The Cape was threatened with an attack from the English, and the interior of the country was in a state of open rebellion. On June 13th, orders were issued for the immediate appearance at Cape-town of all Hottentots, fit to bear arms. Those residing at BAVIAN'S KLOOF shewed some reluctance till reminded by their teachers, that it was their duty to obey the command of government. Upon this they set off without delay, and had already left the settlement, when Baas Teunis sent a written order to that effect. From him our Brethren

received the first authentic intelligence of the attack on Cape-town, and, what more nearly concerned themselves, of the rebellion of the colonists in the interior.

The rebels, who called themselves *Nationals*, had already deposed the landdrost and the secretary at Schwellendam. Many colonists, unwilling to join them and being, on that account, no longer safe in their own places of abode, fled to Cape-town. On the 24th of June the missionaries were informed, that the rebels, though they had retreated to a short distance, were determined to destroy BAVIAN'S KLOOF, and had even declared, that this should be the first of their operations; uttering the most dreadful threats against the Hottentots residing there. The governor, considering it his imperious duty to defend Cape-town against the English, summoned the colonists to assist in its defence, promising to inquire into their grievances afterwards. But the Nationals refused to listen to any pacific overtures, being resolved to advance to the Sand-river, within six miles of the town, and there to treat with government.

In July reports of the advance of the rebels towards BAVIAN'S KLOOF became more frequent and terrifying. The Hottentots assembled round the mission-house, exclaiming: "O that they would but spare our teachers!" Some declared, that if their teachers fled, they would go with them; but if they resolved to stay, they also would remain and die with them. But, seeing many of them exceedingly terrified, the missionaries told them, that each individual must act according to his own inclination, without being influenced by others. Some fled that very night into the mountains.

On the 17th brother Kuehnel went to Baas Teunis to obtain more correct information of the state of things. Here he learnt that the rebels were exceedingly enraged at the school for the Hottentots, as by their removal to BAVIAN'S KLOOF, the farmers could get no labourers to work for them. Baas Teunis, therefore, advised, that those Hottentots, who had come from the vicinity of Schwellendam, should return thither. The state of things rendering this advice very plausible, the missionaries resolved to discontinue the school, and desire their scho-

lars to return to their former residences. This measure, dictated by imperious necessity, excited very painful feelings both in teachers and scholars, the latter surrounded the mission-house, bursting into loud lamentations; and the former could not without pity behold one company after the other leave the settlement; and that too at the most inclement season of the year, when all the rivers were greatly swollen, and in some parts of the country scarcely fordable. Among them were many children and mothers, with their infants tied naked on their backs.

A few days after a troop of Nationals, coming into their neighbourhood, the missionaries received some further intelligence of the intentions of the rebels respecting them and their labours. A proclamation, issued by them, contained the following resolutions:

“ We will not permit any Moravians to live here and instruct the Hottentots; for as there are many Christians, who receive no instruction, it is not proper that the Hottentots should be taught; but they must remain in the same state they were before.

“ Hottentots, born on the estate of a farmer, must live there and serve him till they are twenty-five years old, before they receive any wages.

“ The Hottentots must reside among the farmers, and not live together in one place, as at BAVIAN'S KLOOF.

“ All Bosjemans or wild Hottentots, caught by us, must remain slaves for life.

“ The Moravians were never meant to be employed among the Hottentots of this country, but among the Bosjemans.”

These and many other resolutions were passed by the insurgents in the name of liberty and equality. They declared themselves independent of the Dutch Company, and determined to oppose the English, who were then besieging Cape-town. To this proclamation they had obtained nearly three thousand signatures, compelling many to affix their names, without allowing them time to read it.

The missionaries spent eight days in anxious suspense, uncertain what turn affairs would take when, at length, two of their friends arrived on the 29th of July, informing them,

that they had been sent by Pissani, the leader of the rebels, ordering them to quit BAVIAN'S KLOOF within three days, and remove either to Cape-town, or some place inhabited by Dutch colonists, on pain of suffering severely in case of refusal. The two gentlemen added, " They knew not the cause of this strange and oppressive order, but that they had been commanded to deliver it ; and that Pissani was marching at the head of eight hundred men behind the mountains towards Rodesand, intending to proceed to Cape-town.

Not knowing what to resolve upon, brother Kuehnel went that very night to Baas Teunis to consult him. He gave it as his opinion, that there was no choice left them, but to obey the order, observing, " that violence was substituted for justice, and that he was himself liable to share a similar fate." He promised to send a waggon the next morning to fetch their things, and preserve them as safe as his own.

The intelligence of the removal of the missionaries soon reached the ears of the Hottentots, who still remained in the settlement. The feelings of these good-natured people may more easily be conceived than described. Many of them declared, they would go and die with their teachers, adding, " we are the cause of all the misfortunes which befall them, for we have not been sufficiently thankful and obedient ; and therefore God takes our teachers from us. O God, forgive us this sin !" In the evening they all assembled before the mission-house. One of the brethren addressed them in a short discourse, but was frequently interrupted by their loud weeping. In fervent prayer he supplicated the Lord to arise for their help and defend his own cause. And deliverance was indeed much nearer than they expected.

July 31st they left BAVIAN'S KLOOF, and reached Cape-town on the 3rd of August. When they informed the Commissary of what had happened, he justified their flight, but expressed his indignation at the insolence of Pissani, who was the ring-leader of only a small party of rebels, that had separated from the main body of the Nationals.\* One of the Chiefs of the

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\* Pissani was afterwards arrested at Cape-town, together with his Adju.

latter, having requested an interview with the missionaries, declared : " We do not acknowledge Pissani to be a Chief among us. We are continually reproached with having expelled you from *BAVIAN'S KLOOF*, and yet we are wholly ignorant of it. This very morning we have had a consultation respecting your mission, and I am charged to convey letters concerning you, to the Landdrost of Schwellendam, and can assure you, upon my honour, that, if you will but return, no injury shall be done to you." Encouraged by this conversation, they once more waited upon the Commissary, to ask his advice. He gave it as his opinion, that they might safely return the next day ; and as some of their friends were ready to set out for the country on the 8th of August, they availed themselves of this favourable opportunity to leave Cape-town, where they had been detained a far shorter time, than their fears, at first, led them to expect.

The very day, on which they commenced their return, intelligence was received at Cape-town, that the British had engaged the Dutch at *Meuse-bay*, and that the latter were in great want of reinforcements. The drums beat, the war-flag was hoisted at the citadel, all the men flew to arms, and the women retired into the country. The troops left the town, and the citizens mounted guard. The consternation, excited by these events, was fortunately soon allayed ; for, after a short resistance, the Dutch surrendered. Several Hottentots, belonging to *BAVIAN'S KLOOF*, were in the engagement ; but not one of them was killed. Their conduct, while in the army, was consistent with their Christian profession ; and they met every morning and evening for prayer and singing. Their families had meanwhile been provided for at the expense of government.

In the midst of the confusion and terror, occasioned by this warlike state of the country, the missionaries pursued their

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tant and Secretary. At the very time he was expelling the missionaries, he said, in a public company : " These people preach sound doctrine, and teach the Hottentots the right way of salvation : but, as I am the devil's servant, and cannot be saved, I will do all in my power to prevent the Hottentots from going to heaven."

journey without molestation ; which was the more remarkable, as all the horses, oxen and waggons were put in requisition : but they were not once stopped on the road, though they and their friends were travelling with three waggons. Under the mighty protection of God they arrived, to the inexpressible joy of the Hottentots, in a few days at BAVIAN'S KLOOF, recommenced their worship on Sunday, August 16th ; and towards the end of October likewise began their school again, which had been suspended since the middle of July.

Notwithstanding the distress, arising from the hostility of the farmers, and from the political events at the Cape, God prospered the labour of his servants, and gave them many proofs, that he favoured their undertaking. Amidst external troubles, the Word of the Lord grew mightily, and displayed its awakening and converting power. Of a number of similar instances the following may here be related : a man called upon the missionaries and told them, that he was in constant heaviness and terror, and did not know what to do, for he could neither eat nor sleep through distress of mind. Being asked, why he had not come sooner, he replied : " I have hated the missionaries, and despised their doctrine, and often felt disposed to curse them and run out of the chapel. I was particularly provoked at your doctrine, that whoever did not apply to the Lord Jesus, as in themselves helpless and perishing sinners, relying on Him alone for salvation, were in danger of being eternally lost ; and that self-righteousness was a detestable sin in the sight of God." In a while he added : " I have lived with Christians, who told me, that my salvation depended on my own good conduct, and I was considered an exemplary character among my own nation ; whereas I have known many of those, who are now baptized, formerly lead very profligate lives. I therefore wished you had never come hither to torment me ; but, when in one of your late sermons, you exhorted those, who thought themselves better than others, to examine themselves, whether they loved the Lord with all their heart and strength, and their neighbour as themselves, I was thunder-struck, and said to my wife : ' I am lost for ever, I shall go down to hell.' "



As soon as tranquillity was restored, brother Marsveld repaired to Cape-town, and waited on the English General Clarke and Major-general Craig, recommending the mission to their protection. Both these gentlemen received him with politeness, and dismissed him with the assurance of their favour and protection, encouraging him and his brethren to continue their exertions for the instruction of the Hottentots.

Encouraged by these assurances, and by active proofs of the benevolence of the British government, the missionaries prosecuted their labours with renewed zeal, and witnessed, almost daily, that the blessing of God rested on their endeavours. Many Hottentots settled at BAVIAN'S KLOOF, some coming from a distance of a hundred miles; their scholars diligently improved the means of instruction, their worship was attended by large auditories, and even during the year 1795, so memorable on account of the troubles which distinguished it, and which at one time threatened the overthrow of the mission, twenty adults were added to the Church by baptism. Before the close of the year they commenced the building of a new chapel, and finished it the following March, the English general having given them permission to cut the timber necessary for the building.

Not long after they again experienced the watchful care of Providence and the protection of government. In February 1796 some malicious persons had collected a force of a hundred men, and fixed their rendezvous at a gentleman's house in the neighbourhood, for the purpose of effecting the ruin of the mission by one decisive blow. Government, having received timely notice of the plot, sent an order to Baas Teunis, to prevent the meditated outrage, at the same time informing him, that any acts of hostility, committed against the Hottentots, should be punished according to the utmost rigour of the law. The adversaries, finding their designs betrayed and government prepared to defeat them, quitted their leader and dispersed.

By degrees, the farmers began to change their sentiments, both with regard to the regulations made by the British government, for protecting the Hottentots against oppression, and

with regard to the mission. They began to discern the justice of the former measure and its beneficial effects, even as it respected themselves. Their attempts to destroy the settlement having been defeated, they conspired to starve the missionaries, by withholding the needful supplies of provisions; and for a short time they greatly harassed our brethren, by refusing to sell them any flour. However, it was not long before they brought waggon-loads of it to the settlement, offering it for sale at a reduced price, and that at a time when it was rather scarce. Most of them were convinced, that the instruction of the Hottentots was advantageous to themselves in a temporal point of view, and therefore, when they hire servants, they always gave the preference to Christian Hottentots.

One circumstance, however, still caused the missionaries much trouble and vexation. Long established usage had nearly changed wrong into right. It had been the custom, whenever a new colonist arrived, to allow him, on paying an annual tax to government, to take possession of any tract of land, he might choose, and to expel the Hottentots, who had hitherto occupied it. These people, long accustomed to oppressions of this kind, and naturally of a roving disposition, made no complaints, especially as there was an extensive and uninhabited country before them. But, with regard to the Christian Hottentots, the case was altered. To them it was of great importance to live near their teachers, and as their number was constantly increasing, every encroachment on their land was a most serious injury. And, being accustomed to let their cattle range at large, they often trespassed on the adjoining grounds of farmers. This, as it had often done before, in 1796 occasioned disputes between them and a neighbouring colonist. After much trouble and many consultations, the missionaries, at length, succeeded in having the boundaries of their settlement legally fixed. In lieu of a tract of land, which had been taken from them, another piece of ground was given to the Hottentots; but they were forced to be satisfied with a hilly and barren district, instead of the fruitful pastures, they had formerly occupied.

The rapid progress of the mission requiring an increase of

labourers, brother Kohrhammer and his wife arrived there in May 1798. This addition to the missionary family rendered the enlargement of their habitation necessary. For this purpose they converted the chapel into dwelling-rooms, and erected a large church, capable of accommodating fifteen hundred hearers. The foundation stone was laid on the 8th of January 1799, and on the same day in the following year it was solemnly opened for divine worship. At that time, there were in the district of BAVIAN'S KLOOF two hundred and twenty-eight Hottentot houses; some of them, however, stood at the distance of a mile or two from the church. The number of inhabitants amounted to one thousand two hundred and thirty-four, of whom three hundred and four were members of the congregation, eighty-four of them having been baptized within the year.

After the arrival of brother Kohrhammer an application was made by government to the Brethren, to commence a mission among the Bosjemans. Desirous of complying with this request, as far as lay in their power, brother Schwinn repaired to Cape-town in 1799, where he was ordered to await the arrival of one of the colonists; who had offered to be his conductor. This man, however, did not come, and brother Schwinn, after waiting for him above a week beyond the appointed time, deemed it unnecessary to put government to any further expense. Though the scheme was thus abandoned, it has been mentioned here as being a rather singular occurrence, for the application originated with the savages themselves. In their treaty with the English government, for the purpose of terminating the long and bloody contests between them and the colonists, the Bosjemans had made this a condition of peace, that they should be provided with teachers, such as those who instructed the *tame* Hottentots in BAVIAN'S KLOOF. History probably furnishes few parallels, if any, of a savage people, in treaty with a Christian power, making it one of the conditions of that treaty, to have missionaries sent to instruct them in Christianity\*.

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\* The application was not renewed to our brethren; but the London Mis-

About this time, several circumstances combined to facilitate the labour of the missionaries. The protection they enjoyed from government had lessened the animosity of the farmers; and the blessing, which rested on the labours of the Rev. Mr. Vos, the parish-minister of Rodesand, increased the veneration of many colonists for religion. Great numbers of them attended divine service at BAVIAN'S KLOOF. The formation of the South African Missionary Society in Cape-town, and the arrival of several missionaries from Great Britain and Holland, some of whom visited the Brethren's settlement, served to diffuse greater piety through the country, and to increase the respect entertained for the Brethren's mission.

In 1799, the new governor General Dundas, paid a visit to BAVIAN'S KLOOF, and, besides other proofs of his benevolence, evinced his favourable disposition towards the Brethren, by requesting brother Kuehnelt to accompany him on a journey to the borders of Caffraria, conceiving, that one of the missionaries, on account of the general respect entertained for them, would be a useful auxiliary in quelling the insurrectionary spirit among the Caffres and Hottentots, which was beginning to shew itself in a rather alarming degree. This expedition was, however, afterwards relinquished.

The temporal condition of the Hottentots at BAVIAN'S KLOOF was by degrees considerably ameliorated. Induced by the example and advice of the missionaries, they attended more to the cultivation of their gardens and orchards and the tillage of their fields. The produce of their corn-fields was, in some years, twenty-fold. This, added to the supply they received from their gardens and orchards, and from the breeding of swine, which they found far more profitable than sheep, so increased their means of subsistence, that very few were driven

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sionary Society has since sent missionaries to this tribe. When intimation was given to the Bosjemans, often called Bushmen, that teachers would be sent to them, the intelligence circulated so widely, and was so well received, that five hundred were collected at *Vanderwalts Fountain*, eagerly awaiting the arrival of the missionary. Mr. Smit, Mr. Read and Mr. Corner are now labouring among them, and appearances are promising. Miss. Regist. Vol. iii. p. 445. Vol. iv. p. 315. Vol. v. p. 233.

to the necessity of living on wild roots. This increase of worldly substance excited them to take a voluntary and liberal share in defraying the expenses of lighting the chapel, and its occasional repairs.

A company of missionaries arriving in 1800 the Christian Hottentots manifested their joy in the liveliest manner. Being apprized of their arrival, a large party of them in waggons and on horseback, together with four hundred on foot, went to the river *Sonderend*, about a mile from the settlement, to meet them. When the travellers had crossed the river, the Hottentots ranged themselves in regular rows, and with up-lifted hands gave thanks to God for their safe arrival, joining in solemn hymns of praise. The scene was so affecting to the missionaries, that they could not refrain from giving free vent to their tears. The nearer they approached the settlement, the more did the number of those, who came to meet them, increase; and in the evening their spacious chapel was crowded with Hottentots, uniting in solemn ascriptions of glory to God, for having sent them teachers to instruct them in his holy Word.

Among the new missionaries, was brother Christ. Lewis Rose, who had formerly resided in Labrador, and was now appointed to superintend the mission among the Hottentots. His services, as well as those of his fellow missionaries, were soon called for. In July, 1800, an epidemical bilious fever prevailed in the settlement, and continued for a whole year, carrying off numbers. The missionaries had daily to visit fifty or sixty patients, and in November, when the epidemic was at its height, the number of deaths in a week amounted to six, eight, and even ten; and once no less than four died in one day. In consequence of this disease, fifty nine members of the congregation finished their pilgrimage on earth. This afflictive dispensation was felt the more severely, as the farmers, to avoid infection, were unwilling to employ any Hottentots, as soon as they showed any symptoms of illness, and even sent those, whom they had hired, back to BAVIAN'S KLOOF. The poor people, being thus deprived of earning a livelihood, were reduced to the greatest poverty; and some of those, who were

sent home, died on the road. Brother Rose writes concerning this season of affliction :

“ In order to be more regular in our attendance on the sick, we engaged in this duty by rotation, each missionary and his wife visiting a certain district every week. In doing this, we had to make a round of four or five miles. These visits were attended with not a little danger to ourselves, as the fever was very infectious. Through the mercy of God, however, none of us were seriously affected by it. In performing this duty, grief and joy alternately possessed our hearts. When we crept into their huts, and saw the poor people lie there in the greatest misery upon nothing but a sheep-skin, spread on the bare ground, without medical aid, and often without a morsel to eat, and the convalescent tormented by hunger, while a number of poor, naked children were crying for food; we were overwhelmed with sorrow. We indeed exerted ourselves to the utmost of our power to procure them nourishment and the most necessary medicine; but our resources, especially of the latter, were soon exhausted; for scarce a cottage was without patients, and in some three, four, and even more persons were confined at once, and some, after recovering the first attack, were seized a second and even a third time; in which case the disease mostly proved fatal. When we, on the other hand, discoursed with them on the love of Jesus, and set before them the comforts of the gospel, we saw them listen with eagerness to our address, forget all their external wretchedness, and patiently resign themselves to the will of the Lord, declaring their confident hope, that he would in mercy receive them into his everlasting kingdom, and extolling his goodness in sending teachers to them, to instruct them in the knowledge of their Redeemer, and of salvation through his blood. When we saw and heard all this, we were greatly strengthened and encouraged in the performance of our duty, and forgot pain and sorrow, our hearts overflowing with thanksgiving to God.”

Other difficulties were experienced by the missionaries during this year. An order had been issued by government, that all the corn, grown in the country, above a certain stipulated

quantity for the consumption of the inhabitants, should be conveyed to Cape-town ; and no one was permitted to buy, or sell corn without a special licence. This threw the Hottentots at BAVIAN'S KLOOF into great distress, and obliged them to seek service with the farmers. But even in this they could not always succeed, as some farmers had barely a sufficiency of provisions for themselves. Many Hottentots, therefore, were necessitated to roam through the woods, where they lived on acorns, wild almonds and various kinds of roots. Their consequent long absence from the means of grace and regular instruction had an injurious influence on their conduct. Some fell into sin, and the missionaries were in a few cases under the painful necessity of exercising church-discipline.

But the temporary depression, occasioned by these circumstances, was relieved by the many proofs they received, that their "labour was not in vain in the Lord." The report of BAVIAN'S KLOOF spread far and wide, reaching even to the confines of Caffraria, and exciting among the Hottentots of that district an ardent desire to be instructed. Besides others, a whole family from those parts arrived in January 1801 at BAVIAN'S KLOOF, having spent six weeks on the journey. A party of twenty-three persons arrived in June from a remote part of the country ; and a man and his wife from the land of the Bosjemans ; and soon after a woman and her family from another district. The latter being asked, what were her reasons for coming, she replied, "I am come, because I know, that BAVIAN'S KLOOF is an asylum for poor, distressed sinners : such a sinner I am. I have long lived in sin, and done much evil ; and among the farmers, with whom I have been in service, I have seen and heard nothing else : but now I am tired of the service of sin, and seek rest for my soul." The members of the congregation also were increasing in grace and knowledge ; and of their own accord associated together in small companies, to join in prayer and to converse on the things belonging to their peace. For this purpose they used, between the hours of divine service on the Lord's-day, to walk into the fields and woods, and often did the hills and dales resound with praises to God and their Redeemer for the mercy he had shewn them.

After the restoration of peace the territory of the Cape of Good Hope was again ceded to the Dutch. The new governor, General Jansen, and the Commissary M. de Mist, on every occasion evinced their benevolence towards the missionaries and their establishment. By desire of the Governor, the name of the settlement was changed from BAVIAN'S KLOOF into GNADENTHAL\*, by which name it will be called in the subsequent part of this sketch. By their kind interference also, further encroachments of the colonists on the land, belonging to the settlement, were in a great measure prevented, and the Hottentots recovered a fine piece of cultivated land, which had been unjustly taken from them by the farmers. Both the Governor and the Commissary visited the settlement, expressed their entire approbation of all they saw and heard, and commended the exertions of our brethren.

The confidence, reposed in them by the new government, was soon after manifested in a very pleasing manner. Having raised a corps of Hottentots, General Jansen, with the approbation of all the other members of government, requested that one of the missionaries would accept the office of Chaplain to the army, reside in the camp, and instruct the Hottentots in Christianity, promising that he should be provided with a house, and receive a salary from government. This unexpected proposal, though grateful to them, as evincing the benevolence of the governor, yet threw them into no small perplexity, as their labours at GNADENTHAL required the united exertions of them all. But, considering that it was a principal part of their calling to preach the gospel wherever the Lord should open them a door, they consented to the proposal, on condition, that the missionary should be at liberty to regulate his pastoral labours according to the practice of the Brethren's Church.

This being readily acceded to, brother Kohrhammer and his wife, at the end of August 1804, went to the camp, which

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\* Bavian's Kloof signifies Baboon's Glen, a name given it from the great number of baboons, which formerly frequented that valley: Gnadenthal means Grace-vale, a very appropriate name, considering the change wrought by divine grace on the inhabitants.



was situated at the Vineyards, near Cape-town. Divine service was performed every Sunday in the open air, a tent being erected for the preacher, the officers and their ladies and several strangers; the Hottentot corps standing before it in military order. He also kept school with the children, held meetings on week-days with all who desired instruction, and visited the hospital. Many appeared impressed with the truths of the Gospel, though most of them had hitherto been ignorant heathen. The Commandant declared his particular satisfaction, that, on receiving their pay in September, not one of them had been imprisoned for drunkenness, a vice to which they had formerly been very much addicted on those occasions. Their stay in the camp, however, did not last many weeks, as the corps was ordered to advance nearer to the coast. Brother Kohrhammer, therefore, received a regular discharge from his ministerial service in the camp, with expressions of their entire approbation, both from the Governor and the Commander.

The sudden removal of the camp was occasioned by the arrival of a large English fleet at the island of St. Helena. The intelligence of this caused general alarm, and the people were every where employed in conveying their goods to a place of safety. The Hottentot battalion broke up on the 1st of October, except a guard appointed for the protection of the missionary and his wife, who, as all the waggons had been put in requisition, were detained till the 10th before they could find an opportunity of returning to GNADENTHAL.

Government, desirous of making every possible preparation for the defence of the colony, had sometime before, sent Captain Lesueur to GNADENTHAL to enlist a volunteer-corps of Hottentots. These now received orders to repair immediately to Cape-town, government promising meanwhile to provide for their families during their absence. Towards the end of October thirty men marched to Cape-town, to join the army, and ten to Soete Melks Valey, being appointed for the service of the powder-magazines. Their places were soon after occupied by a hundred and eighty-seven women and children, belonging to the Hottentot corps, Governor Jansen having requested an asylum for them at GNADENTHAL, while their husbands were

with the army. For that time the danger, apprehended from the British fleet, passed over and the colony was in some measure restored to its former tranquillity.

The continuance of the war, however, rendered it necessary to be in a constant state of preparation to oppose any hostile attack, that might be made on the colony. For this purpose, the Hottentot corps was again encamped at the Vineyards, and brother Kohrhammer resumed his services among them. He and his wife remained there from May, 1805, to the following January. In the performance of his ministerial duties, he again met with the support and countenance of the Governor and all the officers. The blessing of God rested on his labours, many of the soldiers applying to him for comfort, advice, and instruction in Christianity. The only circumstance of note, distinguishing his services at this time, was his attendance on three deserters, who had been condemned to suffer death by a court martial. July the 19th the Governor sent a waggon to fetch him to Cape-town. On his arrival he was conducted to the prison, and spent above eight hours with the criminals. At first they appeared quite insensible and indifferent about the salvation of their souls. By degrees, however, the Lord was pleased to open their hearts, and, after they had suffered for a while the fears of a guilty conscience and the terror of death and damnation, to grant them peace with God through faith in the name of Jesus. When he entered the prison the next morning, the officers on guard expressed their astonishment, declaring, that they had never expected to see such behaviour in heathen. They had spent the whole night in prayer and singing hymns, and in repeating to one another what the missionary had told them. They were accompanied by brother Kohrhammer to the place of execution. Two of them were shot, and the third hung. All three testified, that they were delivered from the fear of death, and died in reliance on the atonement of Jesus, and humble hope of eternal life through him.

Early in January, 1806, the Cape was attacked by the British forces, under the command of General Baird, and after a short resistance, Cape-town surrendered. General Jansen at first retreated into the interior with part of the Dutch army, with a view to oppose the English, but shortly after

accepted the terms of capitulation, proposed by Sir David Baird.

During the scene of terror and confusion, which attended the landing of the English, and the engagement that ensued, brother Kohrhammer and his wife experienced no little anxiety, being, together with some sick soldiers, left in the camp, guarded by only a lieutenant, a corporal and six privates. The night after the battle they were roused from sleep by a loud rap at the door, their servant calling out : " Get up immediately ; there is a terrible host of people descending from the mountains, and they are certainly English." They instantly rose, placed two lighted candles on the table and set the door wide open. In a little while five hundred armed men arrived, entered every hut, and took all prisoners whom they found in them. " A corporal and a private," writes the missionary, " came into our cottage. I bade them good evening in English ; upon which the corporal shook hands with me. Having informed him, who we were, he said ; ' That is well ; I know something of your people ; ' adding ' the Cape has surrendered to the English ; you are now British subjects and our friends. As you were not afraid, but kept your door open to receive us, we consider you as an honest man, and you have nothing to fear.' After taking some refreshment he retired, and others entered, whom we supplied with victuals as long as we had any left." After spending another anxious day in the camp, the missionaries retired to a friend's house in the neighbourhood and, at length, on the 12th of February, arrived in safety with their brethren at GNADENTHAL.

The quiet of this settlement was likewise for a short time interrupted. Early on Sunday, the 5th of January, they were alarmed by the report of the signal-gun, announcing the approach of an enemy. The missionaries immediately convened those Hottentots, who had volunteered for military services, reminding them of their duty as loyal subjects. In consequence of this, ten set off in a few hours, and fifty-four followed in the evening. Three of them, having been taken prisoners by the English, and being unwilling to enlist with their troops, were furnished with proper passports and sent home. For a short time all

communication with the lower country was cut off, as general Jansen was occupying the hills with a strong military force. Dearness of provisions in the sequel obliged many of the inhabitants of GNADENTHAL to remove to other places. Seventy-five men were in the Hottentot battalion, raised by the British, and most of their relatives had followed them to the camp, so that by the end of the year the number of residents amounted to only eight hundred, having suffered a reduction of three hundred and seventeen. Notwithstanding these various troubles, "the Word of the Lord had free course and was glorified." One hundred and seven new people came to GNADENTHAL, and fifty were admitted to holy baptism.

The mission enjoyed the favour and protection of the new government. Sir David Baird and many English officers and gentlemen visited the settlement, demonstrating their regard for the missionaries, not only by commending their labours, but by proofs of active benevolence. On the arrival of Brother Bonatz, in May 1806, the governor made an exception in favour of him and his wife, suffering them to land and proceed to the place of their destination, while no other person was permitted to leave the ship. Lord Caledon, who, in 1807, succeeded Sir David Baird in the government of the Cape, manifested equal benevolence towards the mission.

At his request they began, in 1808, to form a second settlement. For this purpose he offered a piece of land, hitherto belonging to government, called GROENEKLOOF, (Green glen) lying near the sea, on the high road from Cape-town to Saldanhabay. The missionaries J. P. Kohrhammer and J. H. Schmitt, and their wives, moved thither in March, inhabiting the house hitherto occupied by a farmer, who, as the term of his lease was expired, now surrendered it to the Brethren. Immediately on their arrival several Hottentots came to bid them welcome. The next day the missionaries went to the Hottentot captain, Klapmus, requesting him to convene his people, that they might inform them of their intention in coming to settle here. In a short time about one hundred persons, young and old, assembled. Having conducted them to the shady declivity of a hill, brother Kohrhammer addressed them in a short discourse, to

which they listened with great apparent devotion, and afterwards in a lively manner expressed their thanks. They were then told, that it was desirable that those, who were disposed to hear the Word of God and live in conformity to it, should place their huts near their teacher's dwelling. To this they agreed; and in order to accommodate those, who asked leave to reside on the land of the settlement, the missionaries measured off eighteen lots of ground for huts and gardens. They were so laid out, that the cottages would stand in two parallel lines enclosing the garden grounds.

The missionaries soon experienced that the power of God attended their testimony of Christ crucified, exciting conviction of sin and a desire after salvation in many of their hearers, who, with few exceptions, had hitherto lived in the abominations of heathenism. One of them said, "Wherever I am I cannot get rid of the thought, that all is not right with me. When at work with other men, who are conversing on subjects, which I formerly delighted to hear, I am like a deaf man; I cannot bear to hear them, but must go alone into the wood and cry to God for mercy; then I feel somewhat comforted." Another remarked: "I am sitting in the midst of my sins, like a man sitting in the fire, and am ready to be choked and consumed by the anguish of my soul; I stretch my arms towards heaven and cry, Lord Jesus, give me but one drop of thy grace to quench the burning fire within." A man, called Saul, expressed his desire to hear the Word of God, and his attachment to the Brethren by relating a conversation, he had lately had with his baas, (or master,) to the following effect: "My baas asked me, 'Will you also go to the teachers at GROENEKLOOF?' I answered, 'yes, baas.' He replied, 'what will you hear there?' I said, 'God's Word, and how I may be saved.' 'God's Word?' replied the baas, 'that I will read to you, if you will stay with me.' 'Nay, baas,' said I, 'that I do not believe; for I have been with you and your brothers till I am grown old, and have never heard one of you pray to God, or read his Word, and now, when teachers are come to us, you will begin; nay, baas, that I cannot believe, and therefore shall go with my wife to the teachers at

GRÖNEXLOOF." Addressing the missionary, he added, "yes, where you are, there will I be; if you go to the Caffre land, Saul will go with you; if you go to your own country, I will sell my oxen and waggon and follow you; and if you ask, why I will do so, I answer, because you tell me of a Saviour, and that does my heart good."

At the end of 1808, after the missionaries had resided there three quarters of a year, one hundred and one Hottentots lived on the land of the new settlement, of whom one had been baptized, and nine were under instruction for that holy rite.

In conducting their temporal concerns too the Hottentots gave evidence that they acted from Christian principles. They went diligently to work in building their huts, and cultivating their grounds. God blessed the labour of their hands; and as a proof of their gratitude to him, and their love to their teachers, they presented them with some Spanish melons, water melons and other fruits, as the first produce of their gardens. Not a year before those very grounds, which now bore a plentiful crop, had lain waste and been covered with brushwood.

Amidst the pleasure felt by the missionaries at the success, attending their endeavours, they were not without their troubles; the most serious of which originated in the revolt of the slaves in Hottentot Holland. About three hundred of them had risen in one night, with a determination to fire Cape-town, murder all the white men and carry the women into slavery. They had actually taken and bound several of their masters, carried off waggons, horses and arms, and committed various other depredations. But, by the blessing of God on the prompt exertions of government, most of the rebels, and among them, the ring-leaders, were taken and thus their wicked design was frustrated. The scene of confusion lying near GRÖNEXLOOF, our brethren there were more exposed, than those residing at GNADENTHAL, who did not hear of it till the danger was over.

Among those of their converts, who entered into rest during the year 1808, the missionaries in particular mention Jacob Adams, who was a true Bojeman, but had resided some

years at GNADENTHAL, and was supposed to have reached the age of a hundred years, when he died. They remark concerning him : " he had indeed found mercy and rest unto his soul with Jesus ; and both by his walk and conversation edified all who knew him. In short, we have had in him an incontrovertible proof that the Holy Spirit instructs God's children in all the essential truths revealed in his sacred Word, in the most distinct and powerful manner, though the ordinary means may be very deficient. For Jacob Adams had never learnt Dutch, and all his conversations with us were through an interpreter."

In this and subsequent years both the settlements received an accession of inhabitants from other heathen nations, besides Hottentots. The first of them were seven Caffre families, and one from the Tambukky nation. Negros also frequently attended their worship, several of whom were Mahomedans. One of them, after having attended a meeting at GNADENTHAL, said to a Hottentot : " What I have seen and heard this day at your church I shall never forget. Were I not a slave, I would leave all and move hither. O, ye Hottentots, you are most fortunate to be thus favoured. If you do not make good use of it, you can never prosper." A few years later, some individuals of the Dambra, or Dambarra, nation settled at GROENEKLOOF, and became obedient to the gospel. This nation dwells behind the great Namaqua, at a distance of seventeen hundred miles from Cape-town. Thus widely had the news of the arrival of Christian teachers been diffused through the country, gradually preparing, in this land also, for the accomplishment of God's gracious promise, " I will bring my sons from far, and my daughters from the ends of the earth."

A valuable present of Dutch Bibles and Testaments, sent in 1810 by the British and Foreign Bible Society, was most thankfully received by the missionaries, and served as a new encouragement to their scholars to apply themselves with diligence in learning to read. Those, to whom a book was given, received it with tears of gratitude, imploring the Lord abundantly to bless the venerable Society for this act of kindness.

Similar feelings of joy and gratitude have been expressed by the Hottentots, both young and old, whenever they have received a repetition of the Society's bounty.

In 1811 the missionary family at GROENKLOOF was thrown into great distress, in consequence of a very serious accident, which befel brother Schmitt. Wolves having for some time done much mischief in the settlement, they resolved to adopt the usual practice of destroying them, by fixing a day for a general hunt. On August the 6th in the morning the brethren Bonatz and Schmitt, with about thirty Hottentots, commenced the hunt. At no great distance from the settlement they discovered a wolf and fired at him, but, being only slightly wounded, he made his escape. After a fruitless search the missionaries relinquished the pursuit, and were returning, leaving the Hottentots at a short distance. One of the Hottentots, supposing he had discovered the wolf in a thicket, called to the missionaries. Brother Schmitt hastened back, dismounted, and, with some Hottentots, entered the bushes. When they had reached the middle of the thicket the dog started some animal, but the closeness of the bushes prevented them from seeing what it was. Those, standing without, observing it to be a tiger\*, ran away, leaving the missionary and one Hottentot alone. Not knowing which way to get out, and afraid of coming directly upon the tiger, they proceeded slowly, with their guns pointed, to be ready for an immediate attack. On a sudden the animal sprang upon the Hottentot, pulled him down, and began to bite his face. Brother Schmitt instantly aimed his gun at the tiger; but as the Hottentot lay upon him, he could not take effectual aim. The animal perceiving him, let go the Hottentot and made a spring at the missionary. His gun being of no use, at such close quarters, he threw it down, and holding up his arm to defend his face, the tiger seized it close to the elbow. Brother Schmitt, however, was still able, with the same hand, to lay hold of the

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\* The tigers in this country are inferior to those in Bengal, both in size and strength. They are rather larger than the largest Newfoundland dogs, and very nimble and fierce.



tiger's fore feet, and, seizing him with the other, by the throat he threw him down, knelt on his body, and cried out for help to the Hottentots, who instantly ran to his assistance. One of them, laying his piece close under the arm of the missionary, shot the animal through the heart; and thus rescued brother Schmitt from immediate and imminent danger. His wife and brethren, however, were not at once relieved from their fears on his account. He had eight wounds from the elbow to the wrist, and in some places, the teeth of the tiger had penetrated to the bone; and as the teeth and claws of a tiger are shaped like those of a cat, they had not only wounded, but lacerated the arm. The inflammation spread in an alarming degree, and induced serious apprehensions of a fever. Medical advice was procured from Cape-town as soon as possible. Doctor Cairns stayed with them three days before he could pronounce the patient out of danger. Through the mercy of God, and to the astonishment of all his friends, he gradually recovered, though he appears never to have fully regained the same degree of health he had before enjoyed.

Doctor Cairns likewise attended the Hottentot, who, though severely wounded, did not suffer so much bodily pain as the missionary. This was the third encounter the Hottentot had with a tiger and he must in all probability have lost his life, if brother Schmitt had not exposed his own to save his.

The formation of a Bible and School-Commission at Cape-town, in 1813, was an event in which our brethren took a very lively and cordial interest. Having explained the nature of this institution to their congregations, they made collections for it in both the settlements, and had the pleasure to find, that the Hottentots were disposed to contribute to its support even beyond their ability. The Rev. Robert Jones, colonial chaplain, being deputed by the School-Commission to make a tour through the country, for the purpose of assisting in the formation of schools on the plan of Dr. Bell and Mr. Lancaster, paid a visit to GNADENTHAL, and expressed his satisfaction in the school established there, but objected to its being kept in the church. Being informed that the missionaries had not the means of building a school-house, he immediately set on foot a subscription and, by his zealous exertions, in a

short time procured upwards of 1400 rix dollars; to which several handsome donations were afterwards added. He put down his own name for 100 rix dollars; the governor, Sir J. Francis Craddock presented 200 rix dollars, his Lady the same sum; the Bible and School-Commission, and the Fund of the Lutheran Church, each a 100 rix dollars. The foundation of this building was laid on the 11th of February 1814. It was solemnly opened on the 15th of the following July. Both parents and children, in a very affecting and lively manner, testified their joy and gratitude. The day before an examination had been held with all the scholars, both boys and girls, amounting to two hundred and forty three. The teachers remarked: "to hear these Hottentot children read so well, was truly encouraging to us. Some of them are beginning to write a good hand." It may here be added, that sister Schmitt at GROENEKLOOF, and sister Leitner at GNADENTHAL were instructing the girls in needle-work; some of whom were learning satten-stitch, which they executed with great neatness, and were thus able to earn their own livelihood.

Fostered by the favour and protection of government, and richly experiencing the blessing of God, the mission continued to enjoy, as it had done for several preceding years, external quiet and prosperity, and internal growth by the advance of the converts in grace and divine knowledge. The number of inhabitants in both places was yearly increased by new comers, and the congregation was augmented by such, as, on sincerely embracing the gospel, were added to the Church by holy baptism. In GROENEKLOOF, the more recently formed settlement, the annual increase of inhabitants averaged about twenty, and that of the baptized adults, fifteen. In GNADENTHAL the numbers were considerably larger. In some years this settlement received from sixty to eighty, and in one year even one hundred and thirty new inhabitants; and from forty to sixty adult heathen were yearly admitted to baptism.

The most grateful circumstance, attending this increase, was that nearly all those, who were admitted into the settlement, or advanced in church-privileges, manifested a sincere desire, not only to have the name of Christians, but to give all diligence to make their calling and election sure. Many of them

indeed appeared to have previously been prepared for their admission to the Church of Christ by the Spirit of God. One of them said: "God has led me in a marvellous way from the lower country to this place. I happened to hear about BAVIAN'S KLOOF from some travelling Hottentots, who told me that teachers were come across the great waters to the Hottentots, and described to them a great person, who came down from heaven, and would bring us after death into a pleasant place, and not into the black kloof, of which we had heard such terrible accounts. From that time I thought day and night how I should make my way to BAVIAN'S KLOOF, but could not find the way till God led me hither." Another related, "that when she was a young girl, her father once called his children together, and addressed them in the following manner: 'My children, what your father says, is truth. You are Hottentots, and despised of men; but continue to behave well, for I have an assurance, that God will one day send teachers to our nation from a distant land. I am old, and probably shall not see that day; but you are young, and will with your eyes see what I have now told you. As soon, therefore, as you hear that such people have arrived in this country, hasten to them; stay wherever they settle, be obedient to them, and it will be well for you.'" Soon after her father's death she moved to GNA-DENTHAL and was baptized. Another woman said, "I am astonished when I reflect, how graciously the Lord has brought us hither, where we enjoy so much mercy, both spiritual and temporal. Three years ago there was no prospect of it. When I heard that teachers were come to GROENEKLOOF, I felt a very ardent desire to move hither, and my husband was of the same mind. But when he consulted his baas, he gave him such a false account of what was done and taught here, that he altered his purpose. However, some business having brought him to this place, he said to me on his return; 'Now, let people say what they please about GROENEKLOOF; but I say, the baas may keep all he owes us, if he will only let us go and live there.'"

In the children also the work of the Holy Ghost was pleasingly evident. A child, nine years old, being asked, how she spent the time with her younger sister, replied: "We often

pray our Saviour to make us his children, and to keep us from growing up as children of the devil. Then we sing verses together, which we learn at school. Sometimes we help old mother Lydia to work, and she gives us a piece of bread for our labour, for our parents are at the Cape, and when they are at home, we have to dig for roots in the fields to satisfy our hunger, for they are very poor and have nothing to give us." A Caffre boy, twelve years old, was once asked, whether he did not repent having come to GNADENTHAL. On his answering in the negative, the missionary observed: "but in the Caffre country you had meat in plenty and excellent milk, and here you cannot get it." The boy replied, "that is very true: but I wish to become a child of God, and in this place I hear how I may become one; but in my own country I heard nothing of it. Therefore I rejoice that I am come hither, and am satisfied with any thing."

Even among those of their people, who, on account of sinful deviations, had been separated from the fellowship of believers, the missionaries often met with encouraging proofs, that the good Shepherd was seeking his lost sheep, and leading them back to the fold. A person of this class, belonging to GNADENTHAL, once made the following confession: "O how have I sinned in the sight of God and man. I had once given my heart to the Lord, and renounced the devil and all his works; and I was sincere at that time. But, alas, I have trodden the grace of God under foot, I have forsaken Jesus and his people, and for many years strayed in the wilderness. I now repent with my whole heart and thank our Saviour, that he has again brought me to this place, like a poor worried sheep that had left the flock. O that all young people would consider how easy it is to stray; but not so easy to regain what we have lost." Another backslider made a similar confession: "the pain," said she, "occasioned by forsaking the congregation, after having once been a member of it, I have severely experienced. I went away; but had scarcely executed my resolution, when my distress became so great, that I could neither eat nor drink; I often went into the field, fell upon my knees, and entreated the Lord that he would bring me back. But the farmer, with whom I was engaged, would not consent

to my leaving him. At length my time expired, my heart became light, and I returned to GNADENTHAL full of joy; but was told I could not remain here without my husband. I prayed to God: 'O Lord, thou knowest I cannot depart, though I and my children should starve to death at the gate.' He heard my prayer; my husband soon followed me; and since then, the Lord hath done great things for us. May he preserve us in his grace to the end of our lives!"

The attainments of the Christian Hottentots in scripture knowledge, and their consistent conduct, tended greatly to lessen the animosity of the farmers, and even to awaken in some of them a serious concern for their own salvation. Many instances of this are related by the missionaries in their reports; of which the following is one of the most interesting: A farmer, who had hired a Christian Hottentot, called Philip, once entered into conversation with him, remarking: "I am not a little surprised to see how the wretched, drunken Hottentots, when they get to GNADENTHAL and hear the Word of God, truly receive grace and mercy and become quite another sort of people. I was born a Christian and instructed in religion from my childhood; I possess a Bible, and frequently read in it; and yet I find all this wanting in me." Philip made for answer, that, though he could not read himself, yet he had retained in his memory much of what he had heard read; and then related the parable of the labourers in the vineyard, applying it, in a very apposite manner, to the colonists and the Hottentots. The farmer was much affected, and said, "I never understood these things as I now hear you explain them." Philip then asked him, how often he had been at the Lord's Supper. The master replied, "only once in my life; for I feel myself unworthy of it." Philip rejoined: "my baas, suffer me to advise you. Seek to know Jesus as your Saviour; surrender your heart to him, and go the next time to the Lord's Table; for there we receive heavenly food for our souls, and divine life to support our feeble faith; and in the bread and wine we enjoy spiritually his body broken for us, and his blood shed for the remission of our sins." The farmer followed his advice, and found himself greatly comforted and blessed. Philip, being prevented by ill-

ness from finishing some work this farmer had given him to do, afterwards returned to make an apology and ask pardon for his apparent neglect. His master, making no reply, the Hottentot repeated his excuses. Hereupon the farmer said: "I was not angry with you, Philip; I was only considering what I should do for you, and now I give you twelve measures of corn, just as much as I should have given you, if you had finished your job; for I acknowledge *you* to be my teacher, and have to thank *you* for the great good I have enjoyed; therefore I owe you much more than I now give you." The Hottentot replied: "No, baas, you must not talk so to me; for it might appear, as if you were not converted to *God*, but to me; and consequently made me a god. If I thought so, I would stay in my poor hut at GNADENTHAL and never come hither again. But, if you will give the corn out of charity to a needy Hottentot, I will accept of it with many thanks, and do another job for you instead of the former."

Great numbers of colonists and other strangers, both high and low, continued to visit the settlements, and attend divine worship there, especially at festival seasons. On these occasions, even their spacious church at GNADENTHAL was often so crowded that hundreds stood without. The Hottentots willingly resigned their seats to the visitors, occupying themselves the hall and passages, remarking: "they thought it a pity to prevent the visitors from hearing something which might benefit their souls."

Were not the Author afraid of extending this narration to too great a length, these instances of the internal progress of the mission, selected indiscriminately from the diaries of several years, might easily be multiplied by a relation of many others, equally proving that the work was of God, and not of men.

A variety of circumstances requiring that a person, duly authorized, should hold a visitation in this mission; that service was committed to brother Christian Ignatius Latrobe, Secretary to the Brethren's Society (in England) for the Furtherance of the Gospel among the heathen. In this view he left London on the 1st of October 1815, and arrived at the Cape on December 24th, being accompanied by the brethren

Clemens and Thompson, with their wives, and the unmarried brethren Stein and Lemmertz, destined for the service of the mission in South Africa.

During his stay in this country brother Latrobe visited both the settlements, and held frequent consultations with the missionaries, relative to the important work in which they were engaged. One principal object of his visit was, to inquire into the practicability of forming a third mission-settlement in South Africa. For this purpose he set out from GNADENTHAL, March 9th, 1816, on a reconnoitring journey into the interior, being accompanied by the missionaries J. H. Schmitt and his wife and J. J. Stein; and Mr. Melville, land-surveyor to the government, a sincere friend to the mission and a zealous promoter of Christianity and civilization. This gentleman rendered them essential services during their expedition, which occupied above two months. They finally fixed on a tract of land, lying on the *Witte Rivier*, on the confines of Caffraria, at the distance of a fortnight's journey from GNADENTHAL, as the most eligible place for a missionary settlement.

In this and all other transactions with government, brother Latrobe experienced repeated proofs of the benevolence of the Governor, Lord Charles Somerset, the colonial Secretary, Mr. Alexander, and other gentlemen connected with the government. They evinced the most favourable disposition towards the mission, and a readiness in every possible way to promote its prosperity and extension.

Before his return to Europe a regular police was established at GNADENTHAL. This measure originated with the inhabitants themselves, and was rendered necessary by the increasing disorders, committed by strangers, and some of their own young people, as well as by slaves and persons dismissed from the settlement, and even by some so called Christians. It was on many accounts impossible for the missionaries to take sufficient cognizance of these disorders, and they, therefore, the more readily agreed to the proposal. Having consulted the landdrost, and obtained his approbation and the promise of his assistance when needed; fifty-four men, chiefly fathers of fami-

lies residing in different parts of the settlement, were chosen for overseers of the place. All the inhabitants were then informed of this regulation. The rules of the place, drawn up by brother Latrobe, together with the letter from the landdrost, having been read to them, they were admonished cheerfully to conform to these rules, being intended for their own good and the welfare of their families, that the gospel and the work of God in the settlement might be honoured, and not disgraced by the lives and conversation of its inhabitants.

Having returned to GROENEKLOOF, brother Latrobe had the pleasure of being present at the laying of the foundation-stone of their new church on the 31st of August 1816. Hitherto divine worship had been performed in the hall of the mission-house; but the increase of their congregation and public auditories rendered this no longer practicable.

Towards the end of October he took his final departure from Africa in the Zebra sloop of war, and, after a very pleasant and expeditious voyage of only six weeks and four days under sail, arrived at Spithead on the 18th of December. According to the repeated testimony of our brethren, his visit was of essential benefit to the mission, and served to animate those employed in it, to proceed in their labour, with increasing zeal and diligence, and, while feeling their own insufficiency, to depend on the blessing of God, which has hitherto abundantly crowned their exertions.

On the first of December 1816 the settlement of GNADEN-THAL was visited by a dreadful calamity, of which the missionaries give the following account:

"A dreadful torrent descended upon us from the mountains, and overwhelmed great part of our premises with destructive violence. It had rained without ceasing the day before, though not faster than it often does here; but on the 1st of December the rains increased in an alarming degree, and continued without intermission till the following morning. Our three brooks, coming out of the Bavian's Kloof, Siebenvonteyn valley, and Kornland's Kloof, swelled to a prodigious height, carrying with them trees and large stones, and threatening general desolation. The noise of the waters and rolling stones was terrific, especi-



ally in the Bavian's Kloof, close behind our dwellings. In the kloof, or glen, itself, which is of considerable width, and through which the brook commonly winds in a gentle stream, all the bushy and rocky eminences were completely covered, and the whole glen becoming too narrow for the impetuous torrent, it tore away large parts of the rocks and earth on each side, with all the trees planted up the slopes. The dyke, forming the mill-course, was in the most imminent danger of being burst and carried away, the torrent having made large holes in the ground close to its foundation. The flood now rushed with astonishing violence out of the opening of the glen, and, meeting on the left with resistance from the projecting rocks, the whole mass of water fell upon a dyke made many years ago at the expense of government, of which there was still a part remaining, and carried off that and the greater part of the grove of kerri and poplar trees, planted by the missionaries, together with the gardens of the brethren P. Leitner and Beinbrech. From hence it turned, for a short space, into the old bed of Bavian's river, but soon spread and burst through the middle of the adjoining ground. Here it met the torrent rushing down from Siebenvonteyn and, uniting itself with that stream, inundated the whole valley down to the river Sonderend, destroying all the Hottentots' grounds and gardens within its course. The high foot-bridge, leading from the main part of the settlement to the Caffre kraal, at least fifteen feet above the level of the brook in dry weather, was covered and carried away, and the place filled with stones and sand. To the right, behind the burying-ground, the small brook descending from the Korland's kloof, precipitated itself with equal violence towards and into the settlement, covering the land with sand and stones. Thus most of the gardens, which promised a good crop, were buried under sand, and some wholly demolished, the flood passing through them. The violence of the rains had already thoroughly soaked the walls of many of the Hottentots' houses, which threatened to fall upon the inhabitants, and, as towards night the rain rather increased than diminished, the poor people quitted them, and sought safety on our premises, and in houses on higher ground. We opened for them both the

church and the school-house, and rendered them otherwise all the assistance in our power. Two men lost their lives.

"From the 9th to the 12th men, women and children were busily employed to lead the Bavian's Revier into its old channel. This proved a very difficult undertaking, partly for want of proper tools, and partly because many of the Hottentots were at work with the farmers. The brook was indeed brought to flow within its former bed, but the banks were imperfectly secured, and the main work must be left till after the harvest. During the work we were pleased to see such willingness and diligence, as are not always met with among the people, and not at all natural to the Hottentot nation; and when we spoke with them of the damage done to their grounds they replied, that they had more cause to thank the Lord for His mercy, that, notwithstanding their great demerit, they had been chastised with so much lenity."

With a view to strengthen the hands of the missionaries in South Africa, brother Hallbeck and his wife, the Brethren J. F. Hoffman and Gottfried Horning, and sister A. L. Wuensche sailed for the Cape of Good Hope in September 1817, and arrived there before the end of the year. The brethren Hoffman and Horning, in conjunction with brother and sister Schmitt of GROENEKLOOF, were appointed to begin the new settlement on the WITTE REVIER; and brother Hallbeck to be president of the Committee, which had been formed during brother Latrobe's visit, for the superintendence of the South African mission.

Towards the end of that year twenty-five years had elapsed since the renewal of the mission among the Hottentots. During this period the brethren Rose, Kohrhammer, Kuehnel and Schwinn entered into the joy of their Lord, leaving behind them the testimony of having endured hardness as good soldiers of Christ; especially the two latter, who as well as their yet surviving companion, brother Marsveld, will always be respected as fathers of this mission, having laboured in it from its very commencement, and at a time when difficulties and dangers were assailing them on every side. During the same period, upward of fourteen hundred Hottentots, Caffres and other heathen, have been baptized.

The preceding sketch supplies abundant evidence of the benign influence of the gospel on the minds of the Hottentots, in making them children of God by faith in Christ Jesus and in rendering them, in their degree, useful members of society, so as to supersede the necessity of any additional remarks. A very concise description of the two settlements shall, therefore, close this chapter.

GROENEKLOOF formerly called *De Klene Post*, (the little Post) has a fine situation north of Table-bay and below Table mountain, between thirty and forty miles from Cape-town. The tract of land belonging to the mission contains also *Laweskraal* and *Cruywagengkraal*, two Hottentot stations. Near the premises of the missionaries are two rows of Hottentot houses, some built with stones and unburnt bricks, with gardens adjoining each. At the end of 1815 the settlement contained three hundred inhabitants. The farm belonging to it comprehends a large lot of ground, of which the Hottentots enjoy the benefit, and which, besides arable land and gardens, affords pasture for about four hundred head of cattle.

GNADENTHAL lies in a valley, formerly called Bavian's Kloof, about one hundred and twenty miles from Cape-town, in a direction nearly due east. By repeated grants from government the land, now in the possession of the Brethren, consists of about four thousand acres. It is surrounded by high mountains, watered by the river Sonderend and several smaller streams. When the missionaries arrived it was a barren, uncultivated tract, but by their industry, and the blessing of God on their labours, they have changed it into a fruitful field, exciting the admiration of all visitors. The large church, with the adjoining school-house and dwelling of the missionaries, and other buildings, stand by themselves, shaded by large trees. Behind the premises lies an extensive garden, well stocked with different kinds of fruit-trees, besides vegetables in luxuriant abundance. From the garden a broad path, inclosed by rows of trees, leads to the burying ground, lying to the west. It is surrounded by a hedge of roses, a double row of oaks sheltering it towards the north.

Besides laying out fields in different parts of the valley,

formerly considered unfit for culture, they have planted the slopes and glens with poplars, oaks, and various sorts of trees, and inclosed a plot of ground for a vineyard, stocked with two thousand vines.

As early as 1796 they built a smith's shop for the manufactory of knives, different kinds of cutlery, ploughs, &c. In this they employ Hottentots, who are regularly paid for their labour. Since then they have likewise erected a carpenter's shop. A water-mill, built in 1797, not only enables them to grind all the corn requisite for their own consumption and that of their Hottentots, but also to serve many of the neighbouring colonists. By thus setting their converts an example of industry, the missionaries have gradually weaned them from their naturally indolent disposition, and made them sensible of the comforts of civilized life. The consequence has been, that most of the inhabitants of the settlement have now as comfortable dwellings, and as good gardens and fields, as many of the peasants. There are but few among the very poorest, who still dress in sheep skins and live in huts, the far greater part are decently clothed, and their houses built either with unburnt bricks, or wattlings, plastered with clay, with a door and window and a thatched roof.

In 1816 the settlement contained two hundred and fifty six houses and cottages, some built in rows, others standing irregularly here and there through the valley, which is two or three miles in length. Each cottage having a garden the whole glen has the appearance of an extensive orchard; and in fruitful seasons the produce of peaches, pears, and different other fruits, is very considerable. The number of inhabitants, at the close of 1816, amounted to one thousand two hundred and seventy seven.

## CHAP. VII.

### MISSION IN RUSSIAN ASIA.

IN 1764 the Empress of Russia, Catharine the great, issued an edict in favour of the Brethren, and at the same time signified her wish that they would form a settlement on the banks of the Wolga. A general Synod of the Brethren's Church being that year assembled at Marienborn, a resolution was taken to accept this gracious offer of her Imperial Majesty. The Synod was the more readily disposed to engage in this undertaking, as it induced the hope, that an opportunity might thus be afforded for propagating the gospel in the East, especially among those pagan tribes, who inhabit the confines of Russia and Tartary.

The following year, therefore, five brethren went from Germany to St. Petersburg; and then proceeded to the banks of the Wolga. Having taken possession of a suitable tract of land they began, with the assistance of some Russians, to erect the necessary buildings, to cultivate the land, and work at their trades. To this place they gave the name of SAREPTA. It furnishes a strong proof of their courage, and still more of God's protection, that at a time when travellers were frequently robbed in these parts, and when many thousand Calmucs were encamped in their immediate neighbourhood, five defenceless persons, with only a few Cossacks, given them now and then as a guard, resided a whole year in this desert, without suffering the slightest injury.

SAREPTA lies near Czarizin, about two thousand miles from Petersburg, on the high road leading, by way of Astrachan, to Persia and the East Indies. The arrival in subsequent years of several companies of brethren and sisters, not only increased the number of inhabitants, but in a short period rendered it a very flourishing place. Its situation on a rivulet, called Sarpa near its confluence with the Wolga, led to the erection of mills ;

and the fertility of the soil amply rewarded their industry in agriculture, and occasioned the building of a small village, called *Schoenbrun*, near the settlement, for the accommodation of those families, who were employed in farming and horticulture. The discovery of a mineral spring, at the distance of about five English miles from the boundaries of SAREPTA, proved an additional source of prosperity. Joachim Wier, M. D. the practising physician in the settlement, having analyzed the water of this spring, and found it beneficial in various diseases, submitted a dissertation on it to the Imperial College of physicians, which met with their entire approbation. SAREPTA in consequence received a great many visitors who stayed a longer or shorter time, either in the settlement or at the spa, for the use of the water. In some years the number of patients amounted to two or three hundred, among whom were persons of different nations and of high rank, governors of provinces, generals and even princes with their retinues. This concourse of visitors, the subsequent arrival of several German colonists of the Lutheran, Calvinistic, and Roman Catholic communions, who erected villages on the banks of the Wolga, and its situation on the high road, greatly promoted the commercial interests of the place; so that it is now a very flourishing settlement, enjoying the countenance and protection of the Russian Government and exciting the admiration of travellers; the more so, as it lies in the midst of a vast and nearly uninhabited territory.

The establishment of a flourishing colony, however, was not the primary object the Brethren had in view, when building SAREPTA. They never considered their intention, in erecting this settlement, would be fully attained, unless it should be the means of facilitating their endeavours to propagate the gospel among the heathen, and serve as a place of rendezvous to those, who might feel disposed to devote themselves to this important service in the East. In order to effect this, they endeavoured to form an acquaintance with the *Calmucs* in their neighbourhood, and to cultivate their friendship.

The *Calmucs* lead a pastoral life, roving from place to place, in quest of pasturage for their numerous flocks of sheep, cows, horses and camels; for they never till the ground nor build any villages, but reside in moveable tents, called *Kibitke*.

They are divided into four *hordes* or clans, viz. the *Ka Soongars*, *Derbets*, and *Torgots*; and, though they are subject to the crown of Russia, are allowed to regulate their internal government, both civil and ecclesiastical, according to established usage, and to choose their own sovereign, besides which they have many hereditary lords, or princes. Their religion is rank polytheism. They venerate one supreme Being; besides him, believe in a great many inferior gods, who, according to their ideas, govern the world in rotation. They likewise pay divine honour to many thousand deified heroes, called *Burchans*, whose number is yearly augmented by the death of holy persons. Those, who are ambitious to obtain this honour, must be well versed in their sacred writings, repeat many prayers, avoid the killing of any creature, be charitable to the poor and perform other good works. None but the priests lay claim to this distinction after death, and on this account they are treated with very great respect. They are of different ranks; some being called *gellons* and others *lamas*. To the latter they pay almost divine honours. The *Dalai Lama* or grand Lama of Tibet, is the high priest, or the head of the ecclesiastical government. He is said never to die; and his name is continually invoked by the devotees of this superstition. The common people know of no other means of salvation than the prayers of their priests, which they purchase with offerings. They believe in the transmigration of the soul; whoever, therefore, dies in an unholy state, has to pass through several stages for his purification, before he can indulge the hope of finally becoming a *burchan*. Their temples are not else than moveable tents, hung with very costly silk tapes superbly decorated with gold, silver and precious stones, ornamented with the most grotesque representations of idols. In many of their religious opinions and rites they bear a strong resemblance to the Roman Catholics. For instance, in the use of the rosary in prayer, the celibacy of the clergy, the observance of fasts, the meritoriousness of good works, masses for the dead, &c. Their sacred books contain many sound principles and moral instructions; but they are mixed with the most ridiculous stories. Many passages appear to have been borrowed from the Christian doctrines, but, to

their own superstitious notions, they are greatly distorted. Our brethren frequently detected them in endeavours so to interpret the history, doctrine, and miracles of Christ, as to make them coincide with their own legends and absurd mythology.

On either side of the Wolga are extensive uninhabited plains, called *Steppes*, overgrown with very long grass. In these *Steppes* numerous hordes of Calmucs annually pitch their tents, for a longer or shorter period ; and as many of them often fixed themselves near SAREPTA the inhabitants soon formed an acquaintance with them. They expressed much pleasure at the building of the settlement, frequently attended divine service with marks of respect and devotion, and behaved with great civility. At first they occasioned some trouble, by pitching their tents on the land, belonging to SAREPTA ; but their princes, or *chans*, interfered, ordered justice to be done to the Brethren, whenever they had sustained any damage, and issued a public mandate for regulating the conduct of their subjects, with respect to the land appertaining to the settlement.

The physician in SAREPTA soon got many patients. Among these was a prince of the Derbet horde, who, during the winter of 1767, encamped with his whole retinue on the Brethren's land. On his removal, in the following spring, he invited two Brethren, who had frequently visited him, to accompany the horde, promising them his friendship and protection, and every assistance in his power for learning the language. They readily accepted this proposal, and cheerfully submitted to all the inconveniences of this novel mode of life, living in tents and moving with the horde from place to place. Every one treated them with kindness, not excepting the priests, who permitted them to be present at their religious exercises, and raised no objections against their preaching the gospel to the Calmucs. However, as no benefit appeared to result from this scheme, the Brethren relinquished their wanderings with the horde, and confined their endeavours for their instruction in Christianity to frequent visits among those, who resided in the neighbourhood, and to friendly conversations with them on religious subjects when they came into the settlement, which was the case almost daily. But, though the Calmucs listened with ap-



parent pleasure to their discourse, the impression made upon their minds was fleeting and evanescent.

While the inhabitants of SAREPTA were still concerting measures, and using every exertion, which their limited means allowed, for the instruction of the Calmucs and other pagan nations in that part of Asia, an event occurred, which threatened the entire destruction of the settlement. A very powerful party of insurgents, headed by the celebrated Pugatschef, which had for some time spread terror and devastation over several provinces of the Russian empire, in the summer of 1774 over-ran the government of Astrachan, and took the town of Saratof. A small party of Russian soldiers, sent to oppose the rebels, was completely routed at Praleika, not more than sixty miles from SAREPTA. Some fugitives brought the first intelligence of this to the settlement on the 28th August. The commandant of Czarizin at the same time informed our Brethren, that it was out of his power to protect SAREPTA, and advised immediate flight, as the only mode of safety left to the inhabitants. In consequence of this communication all the sisters and children, and many of the brethren fled that night, in two parties, the one sailing down the river Wolga and the other travelling by land. Both companies, after enduring many hardships and dangers, reached Astrachan in safety on the 7th of September. Sixty five brethren still remained in the settlement, in order to secure their most valuable property, and to see what turn affairs would take. In the evening of September 1st, they received the dreadful intelligence of the approach of the rebels. As soon, therefore, as the sun was set, they likewise betook themselves to flight, and on the 9th arrived at Ianaitefka. There they received the joyful tidings of the discomfiture of the insurgents by colonel Michelson, a few milés behind SAREPTA. In a few days all the fugitives returned, filled with gratitude to God, that not an individual had lost his life, or fallen into the hands of the enemy. Through the active benevolence of the Brethren's congregations in Europe, the damage done in the settlement, and the losses sustained by the inhabitants, were gradually repaired;

and, by the divine blessing, on their own industry, SAREPTA soon resumed its former flourishing appearance.

Amidst their external prosperity the inhabitants did not lose sight of what they had always considered the primary object of their establishment in this country, and to the furtherance of which they had repeatedly and solemnly pledged themselves: the propagation of the gospel among their heathen neighbours. The distresses and trials to which they had been exposed, during the rebellion, and the divine protection and help they had experienced, rather tended to unite them more closely in brotherly love, and qualify them for renewed and zealous co-operation in the cause of God. For several years, however, their labours still continued unproductive. They embraced every opportunity for renewing their acquaintance with the Calmucs and other pagans; but as yet the gospel found no entrance among them. It however served to revive their hope, when a blind Calmuc girl, who was given to the Brethren and educated at SAREPTA, gave pleasing evidence of true conversion, and received holy baptism on January 6th, 1781. A few years after she died in confident reliance on the atonement of Christ.

Their ever wakeful zeal to extend by every means in their power the kingdom of Christ, joined by repeated invitations to form settlements in Georgia and Gruisnia, induced the brethren Godfry Grabsch and George Gruhl to undertake a journey to mount Caucasus. Prior to this the former of them had resided some months in Astrachan, for the purpose of acquiring a competent knowledge of the Tartar language. To this city he and his companion repaired in November 1781. On their arrival they waited on the Governor, who readily furnished them with the requisite passports for their journey. Early in December they went to Kislär, where they were detained till the 28th February 1782, waiting for a convenient opportunity to proceed. Passing through several Tartar villages, they reached Beregu on the 7th of March. The inhabitants being strict Mahomedans, the travellers found great difficulty in procuring a lodging, till at length a man, out of courtesy to their guide, opened his house to them for the night. They

soon announced their arrival to Uzmei-Chan, the sovereign of that country, who happened to be in Beregu, and to whom they had letters of recommendation. At first they met with considerable opposition. Uzmei-Chan seemed unwilling to believe the account brother Grabsch gave of himself and his friend, and of the object of their journey; but being at length satisfied of its truth, he took them with him in his retinue, consisting of several Tartar princes, to his residence at Bashlu; and on the next day, being the 12th of March, sent them forward to Kubasha, providing them with a guide, to conduct them to his friend Mahmud. This man received them with great kindness, and allotted them an apartment in the fifth story of his house.

One principal object of this journey being to ascertain, as far as possible, whether the report, that the inhabitants of Kubasha were descendants of the ancient Bohemian Brethren, was supported by any credible historical evidence, brother Grabsch lost no time in making the necessary inquiry. For this purpose he first examined all the public edifices. He discovered the ruins of three churches; and over the door of one of them discerned an inscription, but it was so effaced that nothing remained legible except the number 1215. At no great distance from these ruins stood a large stately church, built of hewn stone, and decorated with a profusion of architectural ornaments; but which had been converted into dwellings, five stories high. Brother Grabsch was conducted to the top of this building, and several inscriptions were pointed out to him, but they were graphed in characters, which bore no resemblance to those of any language, with which he was acquainted. His next step was to visit every house, being about five hundred in number, and to inquire into the origin, religion, language and books of the inhabitants. This investigation led to the following results: "they now have no books written in the characters formerly in use among them; they use the Arabic, in writing not only their own language, but also the Turkish and Tartar." In a conference with ten men, convened for that purpose, he received from Mahmud, who was the principal speaker, this additional information: "That their ancestors

had been Christians, but upwards of three hundred years ago had adopted the religion of Mahomed, and now they thanked God that he had directed them into the right way to heaven; that they did not wish to hear any thing about the Christian faith, that they could never acknowledge him as a brother, till he turned Mahomedan, and that they hoped his view in coming to Kubasha, was not to reform them." Brother Grabsch having, in reply, stated his sentiments, they seemed rather affected, expressed their friendship for him, and Mahmud declared, that whenever he came to Kubasha, he would always treat him as his brother. "What!" said Grabsch, "though I do not turn Mussulman." "O, all that goes for nothing!" replied Mahmud.

March 17th brother Grabsch and his companion were safely conducted back to Bashlu by Mahmud's servant, and the same day proceeded to Derbent, where they were hospitably entertained by an Armenian, to whom they had letters of recommendation from a friend in Kislär. Having received a passport from the governor, in the absence of the Chan, they set out on the 19th for Tiflis. But Hashi Bek, a man superior to the Chan in riches and influence, ordered them to be arrested and kept prisoners, till a quantity of silk, confiscated in the Russian territory, was restored. They were, however, permitted to walk about the town without molestation; and through the interposition of their friend in Kislär they, at length, on the 18th of April, obtained their liberty: three days after they left Derbent, travelling with a caravan. As both the drivers and the inhabitants of the country, through which they passed, were Mahomedans, they found it extremely difficult to procure even a cup of cold water. Having crossed the river Samur, they continued their route in a south-easterly direction, between the Caspian-Sea and a ridge of lofty mountains. Apprehensions of an attack from the Lesgians, who were returning from a warlike expedition and committing depredations wherever they came, obliged them to take a very circuitous road. In the town of Samachia, called Shirvan by the Persians, they received information, that, in the neighbouring village of Wartaschin, there was a congregation of Christians,

the supposed descendants of a foreign people ; and it was reported, that they came originally from Grusinia, and belonged partly to the Grusinian, and partly to the Armenian Church ; and notwithstanding the compulsory means used by the Chan, to induce them to become Mahomedans, had persisted in their attachment to the Christian religion. Our brethren exceedingly regretted, that they could not make it practicable to visit these people. During their stay in Shirvan, brother Grabsch found frequent opportunities for preaching Jesus, both to Armenians and Persians, who heard him with pleasure and attention. After a tedious and troublesome journey, they at length reached Tiflis on the 26th of June.

The day after their arrival brother Grabsch waited on the Czar (emperor) Heraclius, to whom he had a recommendatory letter from the commandant of Kislar. The Czar being absent, the brethren were, by order of prince George, provided with a good lodging, and entertained at the Czar's expense. Agreeably to his orders, they went, in a few days, to a park, about seven miles from the town, where he and his retinue were encamped. A separate tent was set up for brother Grabsch, who was soon after admitted to an audience, during which he was seated on a chair close by the Czar, and served with tea and coffee, and during his whole stay in the camp was treated with great kindness. The politeness of the Czar went even so far, that, on receiving three boxes of the choicest apricots from prince Chey Kusrue, he immediately sent one of the boxes to brother Grabsch.

July 6th the Czar went to Tiflis to use the warm baths, and requested brother Grabsch to attend him. About midnight he sent for him, conversed with him on the object of his journey, and the doctrine and constitution of the Brethren's Church, the commandant and prince Paul Andronicof being present. These two noblemen represented the advantage the Brethren would reap by forming a settlement in the Czar's territory, intimating to Grabsch, that it was expected he would apply, in the name of his brethren, for leave to settle in the country. Brother Grabsch replied, that he was not authorized to make any such request, but would convey any message, with which

the Czar might be pleased to honour him, to the bishops and elders of the Brethren's Church. Upon this the Czar rose from his seat, and, stepping up to the missionary, thus addressed him: "Fedor Twanisch (thus he was called by the Russians). I am informed that the Brethren are an upright and intelligent people; and if I could get five, ten, an hundred, or a thousand of them, to settle in my country, I should give praise to God. That would indeed be a crown upon my head even in hoary age." He further declared, that he would himself write to the directors, grant the Brethren every privilege they could desire, and, if they found their residence in the country unpleasant, send them back at his own expense. In a second audience, he offered to send brother Grabsch and his companion home, by way of Constantinople, under a proper escort; that an answer might be the sooner obtained. They were, however, obliged to decline this offer. Before they left Tiflis, he gave them a letter, written with his own hand in the Turkish language, to the bishops and elders of the Brethren's Church, and though they were under the necessity of declining his gracious offer, his esteem for them was not thereby lessened.\*

The Czar was then sixty-four years old, and wore a long black beard: he had a venerable and mild countenance, and was noted, as much for his humanity, as for his military prowess. His manner of life was very regular, spending most of his time, either in transacting the business of the state, or in religious exercises; devoting but a few hours to sleep. He had six sons and seven daughters.

Tiflis lies in a valley, wholly encircled by mountains, and is watered by the river Kur, which flows through it. When the missionaries visited it, it contained about twelve thousand families, the major part of whom were Armenians, and only about one hundred families, Mahomedans. It contained seven Ar-

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\* Gawrila Paulowitsch, major of artillery in the Czar's service, being several years after on a visit in SAREPTA, mentioned that the prince had frequently expressed his regret, that he had not paid more respect and attention to the brethren Grabsch and Gruhl, adding, "that he would deem it an honour to be one of the least in their fraternity."

menian and five Grusinian churches, besides three mosques. The Grusinians, who are the proper inhabitants of the country, and of the Greek Church, respected the Lutherans, but the Roman Catholics had rendered themselves odious by their zeal in making proselytes. After spending a month at Tiflis, the travellers found themselves compelled to relinquish their design of visiting the *Tscheagemzes*, inhabiting the banks of the *Tsche-gem*, and supposed to be descended from the ancient Bohemian Brethren. From information received in Tiflis, however, it was pretty evident that this conjecture was unfounded. Having thus, as far as circumstances allowed, executed their commission, they left Tiflis, on the 2nd of August, being provided by the Czar with an escort, and every thing necessary for their safety. Travelling by way of Mosdock, Achmet, Kislar and Astrachan, they arrived at SAREPTA on the 16th of September, after an absence of ten months.

Two or three years prior to this journey four brethren in SAREPTA renewed the attempts made by others, who had since fallen asleep in Jesus, to convey the glad tidings of salvation to the Calmucs. As the first and most indispensable step for effecting this purpose, they devoted some hours every day to learn the language, and were joined in this by the Rev. C. Fred. Gregor, then minister of that congregation. The difficulties, they had to encounter, were neither few nor trifling. The only helps they could procure consisted in a very imperfect vocabulary, compiled by their predecessors; for the priests showed great unwillingness to give any of their sacred books into the hands of persons, who did not esteem them of divine authority. Finding that they could make very little progress without a master, they engaged a Gadsull (a priest of inferior rank,) to be their instructor, who attended them some hours every day.

To proceed a step further in their endeavours for introducing the gospel among the Calmucs, brother Neiz, who was the greatest proficient in the language, and likewise possessed some knowledge of medicine, offered to practise in this line among the Calmucs, under the direction of brother Wier, the physician of SAREPTA, conceiving that this would be the likeliest

way of cultivating an acquaintance with them. In order to carry this design into effect, a house was taken in the settlement, and provided with every requisite accommodation, to which the Calmucs might resort for medical advice and assistance. He soon obtained an extensive practice, which he faithfully improved, whenever a suitable opportunity offered, for directing their attention to the truths of the gospel; but apparently without any permanent benefit: for though they would sometimes remark, that the doctrines of the Bible were important sayings, they resisted the conviction by referring to their own fabulous mythology, which they pretended, not only bore a strong resemblance to the Christian system, but was superior to it.

Having hitherto found no entrance among the adult Calmucs, the Brethren directed their attention to the children. In 1801 a Calmuc prince sent his son, called Makush, to SAREPTA, for the purpose of learning the German language; and the following year several other children came to the settlement for the same purpose. With these brother Valen Wendling commenced a school; and though he found it extremely difficult to fix their attention to any subject, yet a good impression appeared to be now and then made on their minds, while he interrogated them on the scripture lessons they were reading. Makush, in particular, gave occasional proofs of serious reflection, if not of an incipient work of the Spirit of God in his soul. Having learned a verse, treating of the necessity of faith, he remarked "that he had prayed to our Saviour, that He would give him faith, and the blessings connected with it; upon which one petition after another had occurred to his mind, so that he found it difficult to give over praying." Another time, after reading the history of our Saviour's temptations, he related, that feeling disposed to absent himself from divine service, he had recollected that this was a temptation of the devil, and prayed our Saviour to deliver him from it. "Now," added he, "I am glad I went to the preaching, and as the subject of temptations was introduced into the sermon, my pleasure was the greater, that I had not followed my own evil inclination." Being once asked, whether he thought it was right to



pray for our fellow-men, he replied: "I have often prayed, that our Saviour would lead my mother and relations hither, that they might have an opportunity of hearing how they may be saved; or that he would send a messenger to them with this good news."

In 1808 the Brethren ransomed four girls of the Kirgese nation, between eleven and twelve years of age, and brought them to SAREPTA. After a residence there of sixteen months, during which time they gave encouraging evidences of a work of the Spirit of God in their souls, they were at Easter 1810 admitted to holy baptism.

Two years before the baptism of these girls the Brethren were encouraged to take another, and most important step towards the attainment of their ultimate object in settling in this country. The Rev. Dr. Steinkopff had addressed several queries to the minister of SAREPTA, relative to the Calmucs, and the practicability of translating the Bible into their language, and circulating it among them; at the same time offering to the Brethren, if they would undertake the work, the most liberal aid from the British and Foreign Bible Society. The queries having been answered to the satisfaction of this excellent institution, the Committee placed a sum of money at the disposal of the Brethren at SAREPTA, for the purchase of a set of types of the Calmuc language, (the characters of which amount to one hundred and fifty-two,) and accompanied this grant with the promise of further aid, if the translators proceeded in their labours. Animated by the cheering prospect, thus opened to them, for extending the knowledge of the Word of God among their numerous heathen neighbours, the Brethren entered with zeal on the important work of translating the New Testament. Previous correspondence with the British and Foreign Bible Society, the casting of the types, and various other circumstances, for a time retarded the work, so that the manuscript of the gospel of St. Matthew could not be forwarded for printing to Moscow till in the year 1812.\*

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\* The Brethren had previously translated detached parts both of the old and new Testaments; but as they had no version of an entire gospel, the work had in fact to be commenced afresh.

A translation of the Scriptures into the Calmuc language may justly be regarded as an object of great importance. According to the most authentic information the Calmucs in the Steppe amount to upwards of sixty thousand souls. Beyond the limits of the Steppe, on the banks of the Wolga, there are about ten thousand of this tribe, who have nominally embraced Christianity, and belong to the Greek Church. Besides these, sixty-five thousand families, speaking the Calmuc language, migrated from Russia in 1791, and now live under the protection of China. The Calmucs are represented as constituting only one of the three tribes, into which the nation of the *Monogls* is divided, who all employ nearly the same written language, and use the same alphabets. Hence it appears that, next to the Turkish, the Calmuc is the language most extensively spoken in Western and Eastern Tartary. And what promised greatly to promote the object of the Bible Society, and of our Brethren in translating and circulating the sacred volume, is, that all the clergy and the higher orders of the Calmucs can read and write.\*

The desire of the Brethren at SAREPTA, to extend the knowledge of the Word of God, having received a fresh impulse by their engagements in translating the Bible; they once more directed their attention to the heathen in their neighbourhood; and being most generously assisted by a grant of £300 from the London Missionary Society,† recommenced a regular mission among the Calmucs, directing their endeavours, in the first instance, to the Torgots horde, living at a greater distance from SAREPTA than the Derbets.

Every preparatory arrangement having been completed, and the two brethren J. Gottfried Schill and Christ. Huebner appointed for this service, they left SAREPTA on the 20th of May 1815. Their journey was long and attended with great difficulties, some of which they could not have surmounted, if they had not been countenanced by the Russian government and

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\* Reports of the British and Foreign Bible Society in 1808 and 1813, and Owen's History of the British and Foreign Bible Society, Vol. i. 294—298.

† Twenty-second Report of the London Missionary Society.

recommended by prince Galitzin. After passing through several Cossack villages, they arrived on the 29th at the residence of the Calmuc prince, thirty-five versts from Astrachan. They were introduced to him in his Kibitke, or tent, where he was sitting on a rough skin on the ground, barefooted, clad in black horse-fur, and a black silk cap on his head. He ordered chairs for them, but they declined the honour of sitting in his presence. Several dishes of food were set before them, served upon white plates, with silver knives, forks and spoons, much in the European manner. On Sunday they breakfasted with him and had much conversation. On another occasion they had an opportunity of witnessing the religious worship of the Calmucs; twenty gellongs, or priests, were seated in two rows, each having a small bell in his hand; they observed a variety of ceremonies during their prayers; and their dresses were made of rich silks and coloured stuffs. Afterwards the missionaries paid a visit to the Lama in his Kibitke, who received them in a friendly manner, but spoke little. They were then introduced to another prince, who had lost the greater part of his subjects. He and others made many inquiries concerning the Christian religion, expressing their surprise at its being so widely spread. With the assistance of this prince, who had engaged to instruct them, they diligently applied themselves to the learning of the language, but found the acquisition of it a very difficult task.

Towards the latter end of July the horde broke up, and removed to another place, where there was plenty of grass but which in other respects proved exceedingly uncomfortable, being very damp and unhealthy. "Here," say the missionaries "we set up our Kibitke, which was speedily filled with toads, frogs, and other vermin, but we soon became accustomed to them. Provisions are very scarce and dear; milk and butter can scarcely be procured for money; our coffee is exhausted and the water is hardly drinkable."\*

A few extracts from their journals of 1816 shall conclude this chapter. The 22nd of October they write: "On thi

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\* Per. Acct. Vol. vi. p. 255.

and the following day the demand for the gospel of St. Matthew was so great, that we distributed thirty copies. What surprised us most was, that many, to whom we had formerly offered them in vain, now eagerly begged for them. This, as might be expected, excited the jealousy of the gellongs; and especially of an aged priest, who lives in the neighbourhood of Astrachan, and who is reputed very learned. He represented to the other gellongs, or priests, that their craft would be endangered, if this book were generally read by the common people. The dread of incurring the displeasure of the gellongs induced many to return their copies; but the alarm soon subsided, and in a few days numbers came, requesting to have the books back again. This, more than any thing, convinced us that they set some value upon the gospel, and gave us reason to hope, that it would not be read in vain by them. A young man, who had received a copy, said, 'the gift of God is freely bestowed in this, for all may learn the way of Salvation.' He then began to relate to all, who were present, the contents of the gospel. We were astonished to find a Calmuc so well acquainted with the Word of God. The testimony he bore to the truth, in the presence of others, induced us to hope that the Lord would, ere long, open the hearts of this nation. It gives us pleasure to perceive, that they begin to be uneasy about themselves, and to inquire what they must do to be saved."\*

The Rev. Dr. Paterson, who transmitted the journal, from which the preceding quotation is taken, adds in a letter of October 22nd 1817: "we have intelligence from our brethren of a much later date, from which it appears, that, notwithstanding the opposition of the gellongs, the demand for the gospel has been so great that not a copy of those we sent remains undisposed of and we are now printing a new and much larger edition. The news from other hordes is equally interesting, and the demand for the gospel very urgent. The tract, drawn up by Mr. Schmidt, has been well received and read with avidity. We have heard of several instances of individuals,

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\* Dub. Christ. Inst. 1818. p. 41.

who have repeated it from beginning to end by heart. A letter lately received informs us, that one of the leading men in a horde, near САЗЕПТА, died professing his faith in Christ alone for salvation. Brother Loos, who was present at the time of his death, had his body decently interred, instead of leaving it to be devoured by the wild beasts, as is usual among them. Surely all these things are encouraging."\*

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\* Dub. Christ. Inst. 1818. p. 41.

## CHAP. VIII.

### UNSUCCESSFUL MISSIONS.

HAVING completed the narrative of the missionary labours of the United Brethren in those countries, where they are still continued ; the author had intended here to conclude his work. But on the suggestion of some of his friends he has been induced to add the following concise account of several attempts, which they have made for propagating the gospel among other heathen nations, but which from various causes, have finally proved unsuccessful.

1. LAPLAND. Three brethren, who had offered to begin a mission among the Laplanders, left Herrnhut in 1784, and, after a residence of some months in Stockholm, arrived the following year at Tornea, from thence travelling through the whole of Swedish Lapland. But, finding that measures had already been adopted for the instruction of the natives, they repaired to that part of the country which was subject to Russia. In Archangel they formed an acquaintance with some Samojedes, with whom they proposed to travel into their country. On applying for a passport they were suspected of being Swedish spies, and thrown into prison, where they were confined for five weeks in separate apartments. Hereupon they were sent to Petersburg escorted by three soldiers. On their way, in crossing a lake, the ice broke, by which accident two of the brethren and two of the soldiers fell into the water ; but the third brother succeeded in rescuing them from a watery grave. This his kindness won upon the soldiers, who acknowledged his humanity in not leaving them to be drowned, and thus recovering their own liberty by flight. The soldiers at first had treated them very roughly, now with kindness. After suffering a second confinement they were furnished with a passport to their own country. The gospel in this country,

made in 1741 by the brethren Behr and Ostergreen, proved equally unsuccessful. From Tornea they crossed the mountains to Finmark, conducted by a Laplander, who drove a herd of five hundred rein-deer. He brought them to a bay on the Icy Sea, where they were hospitably entertained by a pious old man. After waiting twelve weeks at his house they procured a boat, in which they sailed two hundred and thirty miles to Norwegian Lapland. The voyage was extremely perilous. Whenever the wind was high, they were forced to seek shelter among the rocky islands along the coast; and in the open sea they were in danger of having their boat upset by whales. About midsummer 1742, however, they reached an island, lying in the 71st degree of North latitude, belonging to Norwegian Lapland. Here they lodged with the Justice of the peace who was a pious man. The minister also showed them much kindness, and offered brother Ostergreen the place of schoolmaster; but his wife opposed it. As in the Norwegian part of Lapland divine worship is performed every Sunday, and regular schools are established, they considered their service not needed in this country, and therefore left it, after a residence of two years.

2 GUINEA. Christian Protten, a converted mulatto from Guinea, who had studied theology in Copenhagen and become acquainted with count Zinzendorf, offered to go on a mission to his native country. Being joined by brother Henry Hukuff, they arrived on the coast in 1737. The latter soon after departed this life. The former remained there some time, and, having twice visited Europe, closed his life in 1769. It does not appear, that his endeavours were attended with any success.

Two years prior to his death application was made to the Brethren by the Guinea Company in Copenhagen, to form a settlement near one of their factories. Having obtained the royal confirmation brother Jacob Meder, who was appointed minister, and four other brethren arrived at the coast of Guinea in July 1768. But Meder and two of his assistants died before they could begin to form a settlement. As soon as intelligence of this was received in Europe, several brethren offered themselves to go thither. Four of them arrived in 1770, but

finished their race before the end of the year. And as the two survivors of the former company also departed this life, the mission to Guinea was abandoned.

3. SOUTH CAROLINA. At the request of some of the Trustees of Georgia the Brethren Schullius and Boehler went in 1739 to South Carolina, for the purpose of preaching the gospel to the Negroes. Schullius departed this life the following year; and as other difficulties and impediments were thrown in the way, brother Boehler retired into Pennsylvania, and the undertaking was relinquished.

4. CEYLON. In 1740 attempts were made by the brethren, D. Nitschmann junior and Fr. Eller, to instruct the Cingalese in Christianity. They arrived at Columbo the 2nd of January in the above mentioned year. Being entire strangers in the town and having no recommendatory letters, they put up at an Inn. Here they met the Rev. Mr. Ahlers, chaplain on board the ship, in which they had come over. From him they learnt that the clergy of this island were very much prejudiced against the Brethren, one of whom, in his sermon on the preceding day, had warned his congregation against them, and even mentioned the two missionaries by name.\* The day after they waited on the governor, Mr. Von Imhoff, who received them with kindness, but expressed his fears that their design would prove abortive, and advised them to call on the clergymen in the town, to whom the clergy at the Cape of Good Hope had sent a letter recommending the mission. They took his advice and went to two of the clergymen; but soon found, that they had no favours to expect from them. Their interview with the Rev. Mr. Wetzeliuss, the senior clergyman

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\* This hostility was owing to some publications, which had arrived from Holland. The principal of these was the *PATERNAL PASTORAL LETTER*, which had been issued by the Ecclesiastical Council at Amsterdam. It was filled with invectives against the Brethren, and misrepresentations of their doctrine. Four members of the Council protested against it, and the Brethren published an apology, refuting the accusation brought against them. But the circulation of this injurious pamphlet could not be prevented. See the Author's History of the Church of the Brethren, Vol. I. p. 341.



in the town, was more encouraging. He received them with civility, and entered into conversation with them on their design in coming to the island, and the doctrine and constitution of the Brethren's Church. Having answered his inquiries, they handed to him a copy of the Apology, published by the Brethren. Upon this he expressed his displeasure, that only those books, which were published *against* the Brethren, had been sent to the clergy here, and nothing on the other side of the question. This he considered as gross partiality.

A man of the name of Portous, a native of Holland, whose parents had left France for religion's sake, befriended and lodged them at his house. They likewise became acquainted with some other well-disposed persons, who reprobated the conduct of the clergy.

Sometime after the governor informed the missionaries, that he had consulted Mr. Wetzeliuſ, and that they had agreed to appoint them a station among the Cingaleſe in a part of the country, where as yet the Dutch had eſtabliſhed no miſſion. This offer was thankfully accepted by them. The favourable diſpoſition of the two principal perſons in the iſland had great influence on the other European reſidents who, notwithſtanding the many calumnies propagated againſt the Brethren, treated the miſſionaries with civility. Their kind hoſt, Portous, feeling the power of the goſpel in his own ſoul, gave them daily proofs of ſincere reſpect and affection. The new governor likewiſe, on the recommendation of his predecessor, evinced his good-will towards them, and remarked, "that it was quite conſiſtent with the character of children of God, that they were ſpoken againſt by the world."

Before Mr. Von Imhoff's departure for Batavia he advised the miſſionaries to move into the interior, and fix their dwelling among the Cingaleſe, where, by cultivating a piece of land, they might maintain themſelves. He added, that he had given directions to the captain of the diſtrict, to render them the neceſſary aſſiſtance. They left Columbo on the 2nd of April, accompanied by ſeveral friends, and the following day arrived at their future reſidence, called *Mogurugampelle*, i. e. *the ſhadowy grove for pilgrims to reſt in*. The Landdroſt had ap-

pointed a Cingalese soldier to be their interpreter. Soon after their arrival the captain of the district came to bid them welcome, and said "he accounted it an honour that missionaries would come and live among his people; that Mr. Von Imhoff had recommended them in strong terms, and desired that they might be assisted in learning the Cingalese language; all which should be done as directed."

During the first month of their abode in this place, scarce one Cingalese entered their dwelling. The kindness of the missionaries by degrees gained their confidence, so that they were daily visited by many of the natives. From them they learned that the reason of their former reserve was, "that some Christians at Columbo had warned them against having any intercourse with the Brethren, as persons who did not believe in God; but now they were convinced of the contrary."

About this time brother Eller, one of the missionaries, paid a visit at Columbo. On his way thither he called at the house of one of their friends, Nortje, whose wife had been one of their bitterest enemies, but now gave him a very cordial welcome, and with tears entreated his forgiveness. At the house of their former host he found nine persons assembled, who, by their intercourse with the missionaries, had been awakened from the sleep of sin, and now were of one heart and of one soul. One of them was Nortje, who expressed a strong desire to join the Brethren's Church. His parents had belonged to the Waldenses, and, during a time of persecution, while he was still a child in arms, had fled to Holland.

The day after brother Eller's arrival at Columbo he waited on the governor. He received him with much kindness and spoke, in very favourable terms, of the conduct of the missionaries. But his behaviour was shortly after changed. Eller having enlarged the circle of his acquaintances, they met at each other's houses, and held meetings for edification. This displeased the clergy. Two of them entered a complaint with the governor, and Eller was summoned to appear before his Excellency. "I obeyed the summons, (writes Eller). "The governor spoke to me in great wrath; he told me what he had heard of the two clergymen, and that they had also communi-

cated the *Pastoral Letter* to him. I endeavoured to explain, but he refused to hear me. I begged for a strict examination of our principles and practice, but he rejected my petition and commanded me instantly to repair to our residence, and never to return to the town without his permission. I obeyed, and hastened home."

Hoping that things might have taken a more favourable turn brother Nitschmann soon after went to Columbo; but found that the hostility of the clergy had not yet subsided. Being summoned before the governor, his Excellency addressed him in the same angry manner, ordering him immediately to quit the town. Finding all remonstrance in vain, Nitschmann replied; "Rather than live in contention with the government, we will return to Holland." This was enough; the governor took him at his word, and the fate of the mission was decided.

The adversaries were not content with banishing the missionaries, their friends likewise had to suffer trials and persecution. Portous was cited before the Ecclesiastical Council, and, after faithfully answering many questions, was commanded to discontinue his connexion with the Brethren. On refusing to do this, he was ordered to quit the country. He replied, "I am willing to give up all, even life itself, for Jesus and his gospel's sake." Hereupon he was immediately sent on board a ship, bound for Batavia. Being obliged, by contrary winds, to put into Tutacorin, on the Malabar coast, he became acquainted with the Sick-visitor in that place, whose testimony of Christ was blessed to many and the means of forming a small Christian society of above thirty persons.

After the banishment of Portous another of their friends, called Nosse, was excommunicated, because he would not leave the communion of the Brethren. Against this proceeding of the Ecclesiastical Council, the Rev. Mr. Wetzeliüs entered the following protest in the public records of the Church: "That he considered the excommunication of Nosse a most violent and unjust procedure, as no proof had been adduced, that those two men, (the missionaries) whose society he was ordered to forsake, taught any errors. That he had himself

offered to institute an enquiry into their doctrine, but in vain. That, therefore, he herewith declared, not only to the Church at Columbo, but to all Dutch Classes and Synods, that, after strict examination, and half a year's intimate acquaintance with these two men, who were here called Herrnhuters, he acknowledged them to be genuine Moravian Brethren, and true and worthy members of the Church."

Though this protest moderated the violence of the opposing party; yet the missionaries and their friends were convinced, that it was the duty of the former to yield to imperious necessity, and return to Europe. When they informed the Cingalese of this, they were exceedingly grieved, and not a little indignant at the conduct of the Christians at Columbo. The farewell of the missionaries with the captain of the district, in which they resided, was very affecting. He fell on his knees, and while tears streamed from his eyes, prayed God to grant them a safe voyage to their own country, and bring them back to Ceylon.

While waiting for their passage at Columbo, though obliged by the Governor's order to remain in their lodgings, they were visited by many friends, among whom were persons of the first respectability in the town, who were not ashamed of the reproach they suffered, by espousing the cause of the Brethren. Thus, though the missionaries were defeated in their main object of preaching the gospel to the heathen, God honoured them to be his instruments of arousing many nominal Christians from the sleep of carnal security, and leading them to saving faith in the Lord Jesus Christ. Nor did their exemplary conduct under the most trying circumstances, and the patience with which they suffered reproach for His name's sake, remain without salutary effect. By their means Christian Dober, a Surgeon at Ceylon, was brought to the knowledge of divine truth, and afterwards moved to one of the Brethren's settlements in Europe, bringing a Malabar boy with him, who became a convert to Christianity, and at his baptism was called Samuel John.

October the 8th, 1740, the missionaries sailed from Columbo, and after a short stay at Cape-town, arrived in Amsterdam the following July.

It is but justice to the character of the Governor-general of Batavia, Mr. Von Imhoff, to state, that he had not the least share in the banishment of the Brethren from Ceylon, by the governor of that island. This is confirmed by a letter, addressed by him to Professor Bourquet, at Neufchatel, and dated, Hague, July 9th 1742. The following is an extract from that letter. "My good will to promote the grand object of spreading our most holy faith is, under the present difficult posture of affairs, insufficient for its accomplishment. Besides more fortunate circumstances and better times we must have, as you justly observe, men who are qualified to attempt it with good effect. I confess, that the Moravian Brethren appear to me to be by no means the last in the rank of those, who might be helpers in this great work, according to the testimony which you have given them, and to which I am ready to subscribe. I had two of them with me during the last days of my appointment as governor of Ceylon."

5. PERSIA. A mission to the Gebri, or Gaures,\* who inhabit that part of Persia, which borders on Hindostan, had frequently engaged the attention of the Brethren. At length, in the year 1747, two brethren, C. F. W. Hocker and J. Rueffer, left Germany and proceeded to Persia. The one was a physician and the other a surgeon, persons of these professions being considered the most likely to gain admittance and obtain a livelihood in that empire. When they arrived at Aleppo they put themselves under the protection of the English consul, who treated them with great kindness, and, on account of the warlike commotions of the country, used his utmost endeavours to dissuade them from proceeding any farther. All indeed, with whom they became acquainted, represented the journey as extremely hazardous; but they were not intimidated. After a stay at Aleppo of seven weeks they, on the 24th of August, set out for the East, travelling through the desert with a caravan of fifteen hundred camels. Having on September 6th

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\* The Gaures, are by some supposed to be descendants of the Magi, who visited the infant Saviour at Bethlehem. Matt. ii.

reached Cowis, a place where the caravan generally divides, one part going to Bassora and the other to Bagdad, they were greatly disappointed, on being informed, that the whole caravan would proceed to Bassora, for their intention was to go to Bagdad. They therefore left the caravan, and went in the company of four Jews, along the Euphrates and, having crossed it; reached Bagdad on the 12th of September. In two days they proceeded with a caravan of two thousand persons to Shermachan, the first town in Persia, at which they halted. Being informed that a numerous gang of banditti infested the road to Ispahan, the caravan remained three weeks in this place. During their stay the missionaries were often applied to for medical advice. The governor, whose eyes had been put out by order of Shaeh Nadir, applied to them to have his sight restored; but being told that this required miraculous power, such as God alone possessed, he was satisfied. Another patient, whom brother Rueffer had cured, evinced his gratitude by presenting them with two asses for their journey to Ispahan.

October 21st they proceeded with a caravan of about six hundred persons, many of whom were well mounted and armed. On the 23rd they were attacked by a banditti of about two hundred Curdes, a set of robbers living in the neighbourhood of Shermachan. The horsemen belonging to the caravan, after a few shots, retreated with all possible speed, leaving the rest an easy prey to the robbers. Both the missionaries received several wounds, were plundered and stripped of all their clothes. From the place where this happened they had to walk fifteen miles in a burning sun and on a stony road. On their arrival, in the next town the missionaries, who had been separated during the attack, again met each other. A Persian furnished them with a few articles of clothing, brought them to a house, and set some bread and grapes before them. They were thankful to be under cover, though pain and weariness prevented them from getting much sleep. For some days they prosecuted their journey without molestation, and, by medical practice, procured a little bread and a few grapes. Their servant, Mirza, ignorant of the divine consolations and support they enjoyed, often expressed his surprise at their cheerfulness.

November the 1st they were again attacked by robbers, who plundered them of nearly all they had, and only left brother Hocker a pair of drawers, and his companion a waistcoat. They had still a journey of nine days before them, during which they suffered the severest hardships, having seldom any food but bread and water, and considering it a charity when they were permitted to spend the night in a stable.

Having at length arrived at Ispahan, they put themselves under the protection of the English Resident, who showed them much kindness, and promised to promote their journey to the Gaures. But as the country continued in a state of anarchy and confusion, he and other friends endeavoured to dissuade them from proceeding any farther. After waiting half a year, in fruitless expectation of seeing tranquillity restored, they were forced to yield to imperious necessity, and relinquish their design of visiting the Gaures.

They left Ispahan in 1748; but had not travelled far, before the caravan was surprised and robbed. Thus they a third time lost all their property, and most of their clothes: and arrived ragged and in debt at Bender Busher. The Dutch Agent there took care of them, paid their debts and forwarded them to Bassora. From thence they proceeded to Egypt. While in Damietta brother Rueffer was taken ill, and July the 26th 1749, he departed this life. Brother Hocker pursued his journey alone, and arrived in Europe in February 1750.

6. EGYPT. After his return from Persia brother Hocker offered himself to make an attempt for carrying into effect the design, long entertained by the Brethren, of forming an acquaintance with the Christian Church in Abyssinia. To pave the way for this he went in 1752 to Egypt, and hired a house in Grand Cairo. Here he practised as a physician, and applied himself to the acquisition of the Arabic language, endeavouring to obtain such information respecting Abyssinia, as might tend to promote the principal object of his mission. He commenced a correspondence with the Patriarch of the Copts, by whom the *Abuna*, or Metropolitan of Abyssinia is consecrated. The Patriarch treated him with great kindness, entered into

several conversations with him concerning the Brethren's Church and the state of the Coptic and Abyssinian Churches. To a letter, written to him by Count Zinzendorf, he returned an answer in Arabic, of which the following is an extract: "In the name of the merciful and gracious God. In God is salvation. From Mark \*, the servant of the servants of the Lord. The peace of our Lord God, and the Captain of our salvation Jesus Christ, which he, in an upper room at Zion, poured forth upon the assembly of excellent disciples and Apostles. May he pour out this peace upon the beloved, excellent and experienced brother, the venerable bishop, our father Aloysius†, the liturgist of the Unity of the Brethren. This is to testify, beloved brother, that the blessed son and venerable deacon, Ireneus‡ Hocker, has delivered unto us your letter, which was full of affectionate, cordial love. We have read it; and it became unto us a taste of your love for all Christians. We, in like manner, pray God for you and for all the Christian people, that he may exalt the glory of all Christians in the whole habitable world, through the nutrition of his life-giving cross." His mission being thus far favoured he went in 1754, by way of Smyrna, to Constantinople, for the purpose of furnishing himself with a *firman*, or pass, from the Grand Seignior; and though the plague was raging in that city, he received not only a firman, but several recommendatory letters to persons of distinction, which might be serviceable to him on his intended expedition. With these he returned to Alexandria. While waiting, in this city, for a favorable opportunity to proceed, the Grand Seignior died, and Egypt was convulsed by political disturbances. Hocker, therefore, sailed for Europe in May 1755.

The year following he went again to Egypt, accompanied by George Pilder, a student of divinity from the Brethren's

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\* The patriarchs of the Copts, who have also the title of patriarchs of Alexandria, Jerusalem, Abyssinia and Nubia, are all called after the Evangelist Mark, who is considered the founder of the Church of Alexandria. This was Mark the hundred and sixth.

† Lewis, i. e. count Zinzendorf.

‡ Frederic, or in German Friederich, which signifies rich in peace.



college in Saxony. Unable to leave Cairo for a whole year, they renewed the acquaintance, Hocker had formerly made, with the patriarch, and were treated with distinguished kindness by him and by all the Coptic and Abyssinian clergy. The former publicly declared, "that he considered the Brethren as an ancient apostolical Church, which had adhered to the pure doctrine of the Apostles, without engaging in those controversies, which afterwards arose." In 1758 they set out for Abyssinia; but, after suffering shipwreck off the island of Hassanee, losing their medicine chest, and being in constant danger of attacks from the wild Arabs, they were obliged to relinquish their design and return to Cairo. Pilder, having contracted a dangerous illness, returned to Europe in 1759. Thither Hocker followed him in 1761, after another fruitless attempt to penetrate into Abyssinia.

Not discouraged by these repeated disappointments, brother Hocker once more returned to Egypt in 1769, accompanied by John Danke; and the following year they were joined by brother John Antes. During the political revolution, which, in the sequel, distracted this country, the missionaries were mercifully preserved, and, by close confinement within their house, escaped infection from the plague, which raged in 1771. The European inhabitants treated them with respect and kindness, and they continued their acquaintance with the Coptic patriarch, through whom they were introduced to the metropolitan of Abyssinia, John the 138th, who likewise expressed his good will towards them. But all the information they could obtain from Abyssinia, convinced them that every attempt to visit that country must prove unsuccessful.

Meanwhile the missionaries unexpectedly found an opportunity of delivering a testimony of the gospel to the Copts, who inhabited several villages along the Nile. The first attempt of this kind was made by brother Danke in 1770. After a difficult sail up the Nile, he arrived August 8th at Girge in Upper Egypt; but as a company of Turkish soldiers soon after came into the town, and fixed their quarters in the same Inn, where he lodged, he had no opportunity of engaging in his calling as a missionary. The soldiers, however, treated him with great

civility; and, at the express command of the captain, he was entertained at their expense, and even ate and drank with them, a mark of respect, which Mahomedans very seldom show to any, who are not of their persuasion. The captain evinced his friendship for him in an affair of far greater importance, and which might have been attended with very serious consequences to him. Danke, being in the habit of reading in an Arabic translation of the New Testament and the Psalms, was accused of reading books, which condemned the Mahomedan religion. The captain, having, in a stern tone, demanded to see these books, read in them a considerable time, and then returned them to the missionary, with these words: "I find nothing in these books, but the pure Word of God; you may read in them, without fear, by day and night." Addressing his accusers, he added, "I love this Christian; every offence therefore, which is committed against him, I shall consider as done to myself."

Towards the end of September brother Danke went to Benesse, an ancient town on the western bank of the Nile. On his subsequent visits to the Copts, he made this place his principal residence, from whence he itinerated through other villages. His reception among them was various. Some violently opposed him, because he denied the meritoriousness of fasts, good works, &c. Others expressed themselves much pleased with his doctrine: one of their chief priests even exhorted his parishioners to go and hear Danke, promising faithfully to assist him. He closed his life October 6th, 1772.

In the sequel the brethren Antes and Wieniger repeated these visits; and in 1775 a small house was erected in Benesse for the accommodation of the missionaries, where they could lodge, and more conveniently meet those, who seemed disposed to listen to their testimony of the gospel. However, as no permanent success attended these exertions, as every prospect of penetrating into Abyssinia vanished, and the political state of Egypt became every year more alarming, the establishment at Cairo was relinquished, and those, employed in it, returned to Europe in 1782 and 1783.

7. EAST INDIES. The Danes having formed a commercial establishment on the Nicobar Islands in the bay of Bengal, application was made to the Brethren to settle a colony in those islands, and instruct the natives in Christianity. Intelligence was soon after received at Copenhagen, that the first undertaking had miscarried, and that nearly all the colonists were dead. This, however, did not deter the Brethren from accepting the proposal, which had been made to them. Of this they informed the Asiatic Company and Court of Denmark requesting liberty to form a settlement also at Tranquebar, in order to support the mission in the Nicobar islands from the coast of Coromandel. This request was readily granted, and a royal edict issued, conceding to them all the civil and religious privileges they had desired. As soon as this was known many brethren offered themselves for this new undertaking; and in November 1759 fourteen of them sailed from Copenhagen, and arrived at Tranquebar the following July. Brother Geo. John Stahlman was appointed superintendent of the mission, and two students, Adam Gotlieb Voelker and Christopher Butler, were directed to apply themselves to the acquisition of the Malabar and Portuguese languages. The rest were intended to care for the external support of the establishment. Soon after their arrival they purchased a piece of ground, about a mile from the town, erected the necessary buildings and called it THE BRETHREN'S GARDEN. They were successful in their trades, and in the cultivation of their land, enjoying the countenance of government and the friendship of the European inhabitants.

In 1768 six brethren went to NANCWEERY, one of the Nicobar islands, where the Danish Asiatic Company had formed a commercial establishment. But, as this establishment did not answer the expectations of the Company, they in 1771 withdrew the few surviving colonists, the greater number of them having previously fallen a sacrifice to the insalubrity of the climate. The missionaries being thus left alone, and all communication being cut off between them and Tranquebar, it became needful to purchase a vessel to supply them with provisions and other necessities. This was attended, not on-

ly with great expense, but also with many difficulties and dangers; and as the gospel found no entrance among the natives, the establishment was finally relinquished in 1787.

The prospect in Tranquebar was equally discouraging. The missionaries in the BRETHREN'S GARDEN preached both in the Malabar and Portuguese languages, but they had few hearers, and no success seemed to attend their labours. Their hopes were a little revived, when in 1774 they had the pleasure of baptizing a Malabar, Katti, whom they called John; but his conduct after his baptism did not give them much satisfaction.

At the request of the Danish Asiatic Company two missionaries went in 1777 to Bengal, and settled near Serampore. And a few years after Mr. Livius made them a present of a garden and some houses near Calcutta, where one or two missionaries resided for some time. They baptized a female Malabar slave on her death-bed, and had hopes that she departed in the faith of the gospel. Another slave whom they admitted to this rite, afterwards apostatized; but her daughter, who had been baptized in infancy, remained faithful. This discouraging state of the East India mission, the great and seemingly fruitless expense attending it, and several other circumstances, induced the Brethren towards the close of the last century, to abandon this station.

8. TOBAGO. At the request of Mr. Hamilton, a gentleman of considerable property and influence on the island, brother Montgomery, one of the missionaries in Barbadoes, paid a visit to Tobago in 1789. He was very hospitably entertained by Mr. Hamilton, and his undertaking patronised by several other gentlemen, who promoted the attendance of their slaves on the instructions of the missionary. But they attended more from obedience to their masters, than from any apparent desire of being instructed in Christianity. Having returned to Barbadoes, to arrange his affairs, brother Montgomery and his wife in 1790 took up their residence in Tobago; but both of them closed their valuable lives the following year. The unsettled state of the island, in consequence of the

French revolution, and insurrectionary movements among the slaves; added to the decease of the missionaries, occasioned a temporary suspension of this mission.

After the cession of this island to the British, Mr. Hamilton and other planters, in very pressing terms, renewed their application to the Brethren for missionaries to instruct their Negroes. Brother Charles Schirmer, having been appointed to this service, he and his wife arrived in Tobago on the 23d of January 1799. Agreeably to arrangements, made by Mr. Hamilton, they occupied a house on one of his estates, called *Riseland*. The promising prospect of this mission induced the directors to increase the number of labourers; and brother John Church, hitherto minister of the Brethren's congregation in Bath, proceeded with his wife to Tobago in 1800. A few months before their arrival, brother Schirmer had removed from *Riseland* to *SIGNAL HOUSE*, where, besides a dwelling for the missionaries, there was a building, which was fitted up for a chapel.

Every thing seemed to favour this new undertaking. The colonial government and most of the planters and managers promoted the instruction of their slaves; and these attended the sermons in considerable numbers, showing much apparent eagerness to be instructed; so that during the first year, twenty were admitted to baptism. In the sequel, however, it became evident, that many of them were more solicitous to have the external rite performed, than desirous to be made partakers of renovation of heart and life by faith in Jesus. A serious and critical illness, which repeatedly attacked brother Church, obliged him to return to England in 1803. The death of Mr. Hamilton and several other gentlemen, who had been the chief supporters of the mission, connected with other unfavourable circumstances, afterwards rendered it necessary to suspend this mission. Between fifty and sixty Negroes had been baptized by the Brethren during their residence in this island.

## CONCLUDING OBSERVATIONS.

IT would be foreign to the design of this work to enter into a detailed exposition of the Doctrine and Constitution of the Brethren's Church; yet a few notices on these subjects, as far as they affect the missions, will probably not be unacceptable to the reader.

With regard to the DOCTRINE, preached by the missionaries, little need be added to the information, which the reader must have obtained by the perusal of the preceding Sketches. Long experience has taught the Brethren, that the doctrine of *Christ crucified is the power and wisdom of God unto salvation to every one that believeth*. Without, therefore, first endeavouring to prepare the minds of the heathen for the reception of the gospel, by instructing them in natural religion, they at once declare unto them *the record that God gave of his Son*. This they have found, whenever received in faith, to be the most efficacious means of turning the gentiles from darkness to light, and from the power of Satan unto God. Yet, there is no part of revealed Truth, whether of doctrine or practice, which the missionaries do not endeavour to inculcate on the minds and hearts of their hearers and converts. In a word, their constant aim is, *To humble the sinner, to exalt the Saviour, and promote holiness*.

The INTERNAL regulations are the same in every mission. Besides preaching the gospel, the missionaries are diligently employed in visiting the heathen in their dwellings, or in receiving visits from them, for the purpose of discoursing with them, in a familiar manner, on spiritual subjects, or administering comfort, advice, or reproof, as the case may require. If any heathen are led to serious reflection, and desire their names to be put down for further instruction, they are called *New*

*people*, and reckoned to the class of *catechumens*. If they remain steadfast in their resolution to forsake heathenism, and in their desire after baptism, they are considered as *Candidates for baptism*; and, after previous instruction respecting this ordinance, are baptized. If their conduct afterwards proves that they have not received the grace of God in vain, they become *Candidates for the Communion*, and are admitted to be present as spectators at the celebration of the Lord's Supper; and finally become *Communicants*. Those who have been baptized in infancy, and, on attaining to years of maturity, give satisfactory evidence of the sincerity of their faith, are first solemnly received as members of the congregation, and then admitted to the Lord's Supper. Separate meetings are held with each of these divisions. This is likewise done with other divisions of the congregation, with the children, the single men, the single women, the married people, the widowers and widows. These meetings, besides affording the missionaries an opportunity of instructing them, in a practical manner, in those precepts of the gospel, which have a more immediate reference to their circumstances, and in exhorting them to make their calling and election sure, have a pleasing tendency to cement the bond of brotherly love, and maintain the spirit of unity among all the members of the congregation.

In most missions, especially when the number of converts is very large, *Assistants* are chosen, consisting of persons of both sexes, whose good understanding and exemplary conduct have made them respected by the whole congregation. In the discharge of their duty they have particular districts assigned them, in which they visit the people from house to house, attend to the poor, the sick, and infirm, endeavour to remove dissensions, and promote harmony, &c. They are occasionally employed to hold meetings on week-days, and to preach in the outplaces; but hitherto the Brethren have not *ordained* any of the natives for the regular ministry of the gospel. The Assistants, at stated times, meet the missionaries in conference, to report the state of their districts to them, and receive their counsel. *Servants* are also appointed to have the care of the chapel, and attend to every thing relating to external order. A *Council*,

consisting of a number of persons, chosen by the whole congregation, meets occasionally to confer on all subjects, involving the general welfare of the congregation, or settlement.

The EXTERNAL regulations cannot be the same in all the Missions. Among *free* heathen, as in Greenland, North America, South Africa, &c. most of the converts live together in regular settlements; and thus various regulations, tending to promote, not only their progress in spiritual knowledge, but also their improvement in civilization, and their enjoyment of its comforts, can be introduced in these villages, which are rendered impracticable in missions among Negro slaves. In the latter case, little can be done in keeping schools; but in all the settlements, this important method of instruction is attended to with great regularity. In all the missions, social worship is performed every day, in the morning or evening, and on Sundays the missionaries are employed, from morning till night, in preaching, meeting the different divisions of the congregation, and in attending to their converts, or heathen visitors.

CHURCH DISCIPLINE is exercised without respect of persons, for the Brethren justly consider that the breach of any moral precept is as criminal in a slave as in a free man, and that no situation, or prevalence of custom, can sanction a pretext for disobedience to the rule of Christ, as contained in the Bible. The discipline admits of different degrees according to the nature of the offence, and consists, either in exclusion from the meetings of the baptized, or in suspension from the Lord's Supper, or in total separation from the Church. In performing his duty the missionaries endeavour to act in the spirit of weakness, exercising all possible forbearance and patience, and they never proceed to a public exposure of the offender, while there is any reasonable hope, that he will be brought to repentance and change of conduct, by remonstrance and private exhortation. Even, when the offence has been of such a nature, to render exclusion necessary, they do not treat the lapsed son as an enemy, but entreat him as a brother, endeavouring to convince him, that the very exercise of discipline is an act



of kindness, intended, by the grace of God, to preserve him from the fatal self-deception of being a Christian, merely because he has the name, and associates with believers, while he is living in known sin, and a stranger to true conversion of heart. The readmission of such a person therefore is not granted, till he has given satisfactory proofs of true repentance.

The general SUPERINTENDENCE of the Missions is properly vested in the *Synods of the Brethren's Church*, which consist of representatives from all the congregations. But, as a Synod is only convened occasionally, it is necessary to provide for the due administration of the Brethren's Church during the interval. And for this purpose the Synod, before its dissolution, nominates several bishops and elders to constitute a *Board*, called the *Elder's Conference of the Unity*, to have the general superintendence and direction of all the congregations, missions and other establishments of the Brethren's Church. This Board is, by the Synod, invested with the sole right of beginning, or suspending missions, and appointing missionaries. The Brethren's Society for the Furtherance of the Gospel among the Heathen, established in London, and similar Societies formed in Holland and North America, act in subordination to the Elder's Conference of the Unity, whose sanction is requisite before any proposed measure for the beginning of a new mission, the appointment of missionaries, &c. can be carried into effect.

In the Church of the Brethren the MISSIONARY SERVICE is, in the strictest sense, voluntary. No persuasions are used to induce any person to engage in it, who has not previously expressed, in a letter to the directors, his wish to be thus employed. After thus tendering his services, all the privations, difficulties and dangers, attending the life of a missionary, are fully and candidly represented to him. If, after maturely weighing all circumstances, his resolution remains fixed, he is considered as a *candidate* for the service; and in case he has expressed a predilection for any particular mission, or branch of the service, due attention is paid to his wishes. And after

all, he is left at full liberty, either to accept or decline any proposal, which may be made to him.

Besides the indispensable requisite of personal piety, and love for the service in which he engages, the qualifications deemed essential to a missionary of the Brethren's Church, consist in a ready knowledge of the Scriptures, and a good natural understanding, in some degree improved by education, combined with a kind and affable disposition, calculated to conciliate the affections of the heathen. No stress is laid on profound erudition. Long experience has taught the Brethren, that, in general, the habits of a student do not qualify a person for the laborious life of a missionary so well, as those of a mechanic. Yet the superior talents of men of learning are justly appreciated, as having, in many instances, been of essential use, especially in those missions, where a new language was to be acquired, and translations of the holy Scriptures were to be made.

The Brethren have no permanent FUND for their missions. In the beginning count Zinzendorf and his lady supported them almost entirely at their own expense; and even in subsequent years the count devoted nearly the whole of his property in undertaking, or aiding, measures for the diffusion of the gospel. Since the decease of the count and his lady the missions of the Brethren have been maintained wholly by voluntary contributions. Notwithstanding the utmost frugality is used, both by the directors and the missionaries, the annual expenditure is very considerable, having been greatly increased during the late war. Not only were all the expenses attending the equipment and voyages of missionaries, and the maintenance of the different settlements, more than doubled; but the disorganized and impoverished state of the continent of Europe occasioned a large diminution in the contributions of our brethren and friends from that quarter.

The preceding Sketches supply ample proof of the self-denial, zeal and diligence, with which the missionaries perform

the important and arduous work in which they are engaged. Their duties are many and various. Besides the public ministry of the gospel and its ordinances, they are daily employed either in keeping school, and visiting their converts, or in attending to the temporal concerns of the settlement. In the former they are faithfully assisted by the sisters, as far as relates to their own sex; who also have the management of the domestic concerns. In every mission one of the brethren is generally chosen superintendent; yet he never acts without the concurrence of his fellow-missionaries.

The number of missionaries, employed by the Church of the Brethren at the close of 1817, amounted to eighty-six; and, including the Sisters, one hundred and fifty-two persons were engaged in this service. They occupied thirty-four settlements, or stations, viz. three in Greenland, three in Labrador, three in North America, four in South America, seventeen in the West Indies, two in South Africa, where preparations were making for a third, and one station among the Calmucs in Tartary. About thirty thousand persons, formerly living in heathen ignorance and superstition, were then instructed in Christianity by the Brethren's missionaries; besides a great number of regular attendants on their public ministry, who had not yet made a decided profession of the gospel, or requested more special instruction.

To all, who from the heart long and pray for the extension of Christ's kingdom in the world, it must be a source of high gratification, and it calls for fervent thanksgivings to God, that He has preserved in the Church of the Brethren the same zeal for the conversion of the heathen, which stimulated their first attempts, so that, notwithstanding all privations and difficulties, persons have never been wanting, who were ready to engage in the missionary service; and that the same spirit has, of late years, been poured out, in rich measure, upon many other Christian Churches.

Above all, incessant praise is due to God, for the blessing

tion on high, with which he has been pleased to crown the  
actions of the various Societies engaged in this glorious work.  
This is a sure presage, that, at the time decreed by unerring  
Providence, He will verify his own word: THE EARTH SHALL BE  
COVERED WITH THE KNOWLEDGE OF THE GLORY OF THE LORD,  
AND THE WATERS COVER THE SEA.

1

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## ERRATA.

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*Page.*

110. *Note*, last line but one, for *art*, read *arts*.  
123. l. 23, for *Greek*, read *Creek*.  
194. l. 21, for *Maimi*, read *Miami*.  
203. *Note*. l. 6. for *een*, read *been*.  
323. l. 11, for *proved*, read *avored*.  
374. l. 2, for *occurred*, read *concurred*.  
393. l. 12, for *hire*, read *hired*.  
433. l. 12, for *Monolgs*, read *Mongols*.  
438. *Note*, l. 7, for *no*, read *not*.  
448. last line but one, for *a*, read *as*.  
458. l. 9, for *yer*, read *yet*.

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